Atlanta socialist wins court ruling

— story page 12

THE MILITANT

Published in the interests of the Working People

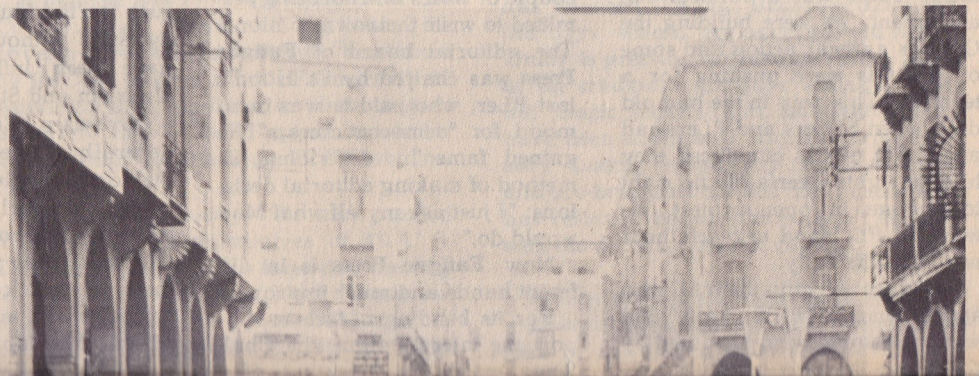
Vol. 33 – No. 36 Friday, September 12, 1969 Price 15c

A discussion of the movement for women's liberation

— see page 10 —

Blacks wage fight to crack building trades job barrier

— stories page 5



Photos by Nick Medvecky

Photos by Nick Medvecky

REVOLUTIONARY DEMONSTRATION. Beirut, Lebanon, was the scene of a mammoth funeral procession Aug. 27 in homage to a young Arab commando slain by Israelis in an air attack on Jordan. Although not encouraged by the Lebanese government, the citizens of Beirut poured into the streets for the funeral to demonstrate their revolutionary solidarity with the guerrilla forces resisting the Israeli occupation of Arab lands and the oppression of Arab peoples.

The three young people are commando fighters who headed up the funeral procession, leading in such chants as "Revolution till victory!" (A Sept. 3 **New York Times** dispatch from Israel reported that the Israelis are being compelled to consider military measures in addition to their aerial warfare to counter the mounting tide of Arab guerrilla resistance to their occupation.) For an eyewitness account of the giant Beirut funeral see story page 8.

PL invents peril to antiwar GIs

Tale about YSA role appears in Challenge

Austin, Texas

The June 1969 issue of **Challenge,** organ of the Progressive Labor Party, contains an article that is a total fabrication, entitled, "GI exposes how SWP-YSA exploited Ft. Hood GI movement."

Here are the facts. First of all, as the article correctly states, we were tear-gassed at a GI-Civilian antiwar picnic. However, in his zeal to give "a lesson on the dangers of mass demonstrations," the author invents some facts that are news to me. He says that two officers from Ft. Hood spread the tear gas. In reality, some of the GIs thought they recognized a captain from Ft. Hood driving a jeep through the park shortly before the incident. We traced the jeep registration to a local Minuteman.

PL has a thing about style. For some reason they have to have a couple of black guys arrested for coming to an antiwar picnic. It just didn't happen. After the picnic two cops hassled a SNCC guy, but neither he nor anyone else was arrested.

Second, PL claims that we broke an "agreement" not to leaflet on Ft. Hood. There was no such agreement. There was a political disagreement; we were building the October antiwar action and some of the GIs were pushing for a teach-in. This was in the bad old days when SDSers and PLers had a number of GIs convinced they had no rights—certainly no right to engage in open protest. We leafleted Ft. Hood to reach those who felt differently.

Third, concerning the WAC who spoke at an "SWP-YSA rally" and was subsequently so harassed by teach-in at which she had spoken.

Fourth, we did throw a GI beer bust, but we didn't try to "isolate" the PLers who came. To the contrary, we tried to get them to come out into the open so their line could be understood for what it is—ultraleftism.

Fifth, a contingent of GIs from Ft. Hood were invited to the February Texaswide antiwar conference and they came. As **Challenge** states, they did indeed walk out, but not because they couldn't speak. They had spoken, in favor of secret organizing. The majority of the delegates hadn't bought this line, so the GIs walked out. But they got lonely out in the hall and returned shortly, and by this time some of the GIs were having second thoughts about secret organizing. When the April demonstration came I was pleased to see some of these same guys marching with us in a nonsecret, open demonstration.

Finally, concerning the tidbit about some YSAers and those who favor open GI antiwar activities quitting **Fatigue Press,** the article never explains why they left and started their own GI newspaper. They "quit" after working on a couple of issues and not being permitted to write their own opinions. The editorial board of **Fatigue Press** was chaired by Ft. Hood's last PLer, who said he was in no mood for "democratic crap." He gained fame by describing his method of making editorial decisions: "I just ask myself what Mao would do."

Now **Fatigue Press** is in different hands and much improved.

For its bending of facts to support the interpretation, the **Chal-**

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

Best radical newspaper

East Setauket, N.Y.

Yours is the best radical newspaper for news and analysis; however, I would like to see more theoretical discussion such as that on fascism and the transitional program for black liberation, and critical discussion of the Independent Socialist Clubs and Socialist Labor Party (You seem to ignore them).

The series on the Progressive Labor Party is good. I suggest that Mao is close to being an insurrectionary peasant leader, such as the founder of the Ming dynasty, although he seems to have been influenced by both Marxism and Stalinism.

Obviously, Castro is Marxist, generally correct and leader of the only revolutionary government in the world. However, there have been reports from reliable (Marxist, that is) sources that there is a lack of democracy in Cuba, which, especially because of the Russian influence, could

THE MILITANT

Editor: HARRY RING Business Manager: BEVERLY SCOTT

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Vol. 33—No. 36 Friday, Sept. 12, 1969

The closing news date for this issue was Sept. 5

GI coffeehouses need funds

Killeen, Texas

Last summer a project was formed called Summer of Support which opened up coffeehouses near large Army posts. The coffeehouses provide a place where GIs can read radical articles, talk to each other, see films, and plan for organizing on post. One of these coffeehouses is the Oleo Strut, located in Killeen, Texas, near Fort Hood, one of the nation's largest military bases.

As GI organizing has developed, the way the Strut can help them has changed also. The Strut is now opening a bookstore-library-military law library; not one that is like typical Army town bookstores, but one which will carry books on racism, imperialism, and the real history of the people of this country, exactly the things that the rulers of America **don't** want GIs to read.

We're asking that people send us books for the store and any books on military law for the library. We also need a cash register that gives reciepts and an adding machine to tabulate taxes. We also need money.

A correction

New York, N.Y.

In a photo caption in your issue of Sept. 5 you incorrectly identified Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers as affiliated with the new Alliance for Labor Action. While I believe officials of 1199 have indicated a friendly attitude toward the ALA, it remains affiliated to the AFL-CIO.

D. B.

Reader's Guide for the left

Northfield, Minn.

It finally exists! Someone is attempting to coordinate the facts, thoughts, and fancies of the new-left publications. The Radical Research Center at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, is compiling a guide to the alternative press. The center is being staffed by volunteers across the nation who are indexing publications from their local areas and sending their reports in to Carleton where they are compiled by computer. The guide is a categorical index similar to the **Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.**

The center desperately needs help from more movement people around the country. They

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For its bending of facts to support the interpretation, the **Challenge** article is deserving of a Stalin Press Prize.

Howard Scoggins

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Tax-deductible donations can be made to the United States Serviceman's Fund, 430 W. 250 Street, New York, N. Y. USSF is a fund-raising organization for all the coffeehouses. We hope everyone who reads this request will send books, etc., so that we can get them into GIs' hands. Our Address is The Oleo Strut, 101 Ave. "D", Killeen, Texas, 76541. Thank you.

The Oleo Strut

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The center desperately needs help from more movement people around the country. They really need more indexers.

The center also needs people to spread the word about RRC and to try to get libraries to subscribe. Besides that, they need more movement people and organizations to subscribe. Movement subscriptions are six dollars a year and library subscriptions are fifteen dollars a year.

Radical Research Center
Carleton College
Northfield, Minn. 55057

Are tactics of SDS (RYM) Stalinist?

Bronx, N. Y.

Your comparison between RYM tactics and "Stalinist tactics" is not as valid as you imply. The fact that some of RYM's tactics are not above reproach does not justify labeling them as "Stalinist."

Among their actions that this newspaper specifically refers to as "Stalinist" were their attempts, during the SDS convention in Chicago, to drown out speakers with opposing viewpoints by shouting "Free Huey." Such tactics have existed in the move- to physically remove PL members from the conference, I think it is unwarranted to say that "RYM" is becoming "Stalinist."

You should realize that if the term "Stalinist" is used indiscriminately, it will become meaningless to people in the movement.

S. G.

[S. G. is entirely correct that the term "Stalinist" should not be used indiscriminately. He is equally correct in noting that such tactics existed long before Stalinism came into being.

We did attempt to use the term more measure of their distance from revolutionary politics.

By "infantile," we assume S. G. is referring to infantile leftism and suggesting that this is the root of the PL and RYM conduct. Lenin used the term infantile leftism to describe the sectarian, ultraleft policies of newly formed Communist parties in the 1920s. But hooliganism is not necessarily a feature of ultraleftism, infantile or otherwise. It is, rather, an expression of lack of confidence in one's ideas and the ability of those ideas to prevail in competi-

NASA official is in orbit

Berkeley, Calif.

So all of us science-fiction buffs sat in front of the tube and watched a real fantasy-man on the moon. Great!

It's pitiful how little more justification NASA officialdom gives for discovering the moon than that any attempt to take up the slack will not be allowed to touch the private market of goods and services. Therefore, more production without purpose or use.

Dr. George Mueller, associate administrator of NASA, however, allowed himself to approach the

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Among their actions that this newspaper specifically refers to as "Stalinist" were their attempts, during the SDS convention in Chicago, to drown out speakers with opposing viewpoints by shouting "Free Huey." Such tactics have existed in the movement long before anyone but a handful of people even considered thinking of Stalin as a hero. (Until a few months ago, the only group that liked him was PL.) Such actions (drowning out speakers) show disapproval of the speaker's viewpoint and can be classified as infantile rather than as "Stalinist."

In the August 8th issue of **The Militant**, you refer to RYM's actions at the United Front Against Fascism conference as "Stalinist." The article further goes on to imply that such actions might turn RYM into a "Stalinist-like group." While it is correct to criticize RYM members for helping to physically remove PL members from the conference, I think it is unwarranted to say that "RYM" is becoming "Stalinist."

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We did attempt to use the term in a precise sense. While the use of undemocratic means to thwart a free exchange of views, culmination in the use of physical violence against opponents, has long been the hallmark of union bureaucrats, reformists like the social democrats and others, it was the Stalinized Communist parties which made such pernicious practices virtually the norm of radical politics in the 1930s. The manner in which both the PL and RYM factions conducted themselves bore uncomfortably striking resemblances to the Stalinist practices of that period. Their praise of Stalin as a great proletarian leader simply provides one more measure of their distance from revolutionary politics.

By "infantile," we assume S. G. is referring to infantile leftism and suggesting that this is the root of the PL and RYM conduct. Lenin used the term infantile leftism to describe the sectarian, ultraleft policies of newly formed Communist parties in the 1920s. But hooliganism is not necessarily a feature of ultraleftism, infantile or otherwise. It is, rather, an expression of lack of confidence in one's ideas and the ability of those ideas to prevail in competition with others. The use of violence against ideological opponents, as developed into a grisly art by the Stalinists in the USSR and elsewhere, is the expression of a determination to crush any who challenge their bureaucratic position. (The fight in SDS, in our view, developed largely as a power struggle between competing cliques with political differences often developed to justify the struggle for power within the organization, rather than vice versa.)

We did not label RYM as Stalinist but do believe it necessary to speak out against their use of Stalinist tactics. **Editor.**]

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So all of us science-fiction buffs sat in front of the tube and watched a real fantasy-man on the moon. Great!

It's pitiful how little more justification NASA officialdom gives for discovering the moon than did Edmund Hillary for climbing Mount Everest. The nation turns from the afternoon ballgame to an adventure in gadgetry at $24-billion a throw. It's pitiful because their justifications hide the real reason.

This country has untold productive powers which outstrip the private market economy. I remember a past article in **Scientific American** in which the author stated that the productivity will at a future date qualitatively outstrip the ability of the war machine or missile race to drain off surplus productivity.

The problem under capitalism is that any attempt to take up the slack will not be allowed to touch the private market of goods and services. Therefore, more production without purpose or use.

Dr. George Mueller, associate administrator of NASA, however, allowed himself to approach the truth in an interview with the July 14 **Electronic News.** Asked, ". . . and what contribution will it (the landing) make to life in general?" he replied in part, "I can think of no better way of focusing and draining off (!!) the creative energies of the world. I would very much rather have space exploration serve as a challenge. . . . I believe that space provides a reasonable (!!) substitute for war, and if it is pursued as actively as we pursue wars between nations, we will be in a position to solve that basic drive (!!) which leads to wars."

Mueller went on to say something about conquering other planets. Let's hope they can defend themselves.

One further comment. While I was going to MIT I was deeply impressed by man's ability to deal with his physical world rationally while at the same time completely unable to apply the same intelligence to his social organization.

When you are convinced to the marrow of your bones that the gap is unnecessary and that capitalism is the main obstacle, then it is natural to take up the science of revolutionary socialism.

Ronald V. Payne

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DAILY NEWS

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Vol. 51. No. 53 Copr. 1969 News Syndicate Co. Inc. New York, N.Y. 10017, Tuesday, August 26, 1969* WEATHER: Mostly sunny, breezy, warm.

'SIR, MY MEN REFUSE TO GO!'

Weary Viet GIs Defy Order

The Company A rebellion had wide repercussions

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 2—The Associated Press story describing the revolt of Company A in Vietnam on Aug. 25 was featured in newspapers across the nation last week. There was nearly unanimous sympathy for the battle-shattered GIs who said no.

Company A of the Third Battalion, 21st Infantry, had been reduced from a full strength of about 120 to 60 at the time it temporarily refused to continue fighting. There were no reported victimizations of the GIs. The company commander, Lt. Eugene Shurtz Jr., was relieved of his command.

In an attempt to reduce the significance of Company A's revolt, Shurtz said that only five GIs had refused to obey his orders. But AP correspondents interviewed the GIs themselves:

"It's probably right that there were five

U of Washington: A legal basis for

Nixon "has been worried about the revolt of the voters against the war, and even about a revolt of the generals if he humiliates them by pulling out too fast," Reston writes. "But now he also has to consider the possibility of a revolt of the men if he risks their lives in a war he has decided to bring to a close . . .

"He is asking Company A to fight for time to negotiate a settlement with Hanoi that will save his face but may very well lose their lives . . .

"At some point, the President is going to have to recognize that there is a fundamental difference between his policy of withdrawing gracefully from the war and ending the war. The difference between what is graceful and what is decisive in ending the war is a great many lives of young men like the men in Company A, and while this may not produce a revolt among the young Americans in the Army in Vietnam, it will almost certainly produce a revolt among their contemporaries in the universities at home . . .

"The President is now said to be delaying the withdrawal of another 25,000 or 50,000 men from Vietnam because the enemy is pressing the battle and not negotiating seriously in Paris . . .

"But nobody should be fooled by this. He is delaying his announcement about withdrawing more troops from Vietnam, according to our information, not to influence the enemy, but to influence the American university students just before the start of the new school year. And the irony of this is that it won't work—or at least it won't work for long."

Reston accepts for his own purposes the pretense of the Nixon administration that it is ultimately planning to withdraw from Vietnam. **The Militant** has rejected this phony claim from the beginning and pointed out time after time that such promises, like the Paris talks themselves, are simply meant to buy time.

Washington has not ruled out the possibility of actually defeating the Vietnamese

Venceremos Brigade announces Cuba trip

NEW YORK—Three hundred Americans will spend two months cutting sugar cane in Cuba this winter, helping the Cuban people harvest the famous 10-million-ton "Zafra". The project, known as the Venceremos Brigade, will be an expression of solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

The 10-million-ton harvest is the highest quota ever set, approximately twice the usual crop. The Cubans hope it will aid their efforts to overcome underdevelopment by mechanizing agriculture and developing industries. The sugar will provide the needed foreign exchange which their ambitious plans require.

The difficulty is not only the size of the harvest but the general shortage of labor. In Cuba today, everyone has work. In the past, the unemployed, those who were literally starving, would pour into the sugar cane areas at harvest time. Workers would also be brought in from Haiti and other countries to supplement the harvest labor force. But today, Cuba plans to achieve this record harvest through volunteer effort involving millions of workers.

The American delegation will be, of course, primarily symbolic, since their share of the harvest will be quite small. But it will be a powerful expression of internationalism for a group from the homeland of imperialism to join the workers and farmers of Cuba in their effort to overcome the underdevelopment American imperialism has imposed on their nation.

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In an attempt to reduce the significance of Company A's revolt, Shurtz said that only five GIs had refused to obey his orders. But AP correspondents interviewed the GIs themselves:

"It's probably right that there were five who said they wouldn't go," Pfc. Fred Sanders of Aiken, S. C., told the newsmen. "But when they stood up and said they wouldn't go, others said they wouldn't go either. I reckon it was moral support because nobody—we didn't want to go."

Pfc. Carl Morton of Elmsford, N. Y., said: "The whole company definitely was behind the refusal. None of us thought we would withstand being pinned down another day or spend another night out there.

"So we decided somebody had to see the I. G. [Inspector General]. Everybody couldn't, so those five volunteered and everybody agreed that they would represent the entire company, to try to get someone out there that could do something about what was going on."

Ironically, one argument to downgrade the Company A revolt consisted of asserting that such revolts are routine. **New York Times** correspondent James P. Sterba wrote Aug. 28 that a typical response to news of the revolt was:

"A lot of guys don't want to go back in there and they say so. But they do it anyway. They complain all the while until the shooting starts . . . That C. O. [Shurtz] must have been new. He didn't know the ropes. And word got out and now there's a big stink."

Sterba claimed that the revolt could not be explained by the feeling of "fighting in lost causes, fighting for no apparent reason, antiwar sentiment, troop withdrawl or the Paris peace talks."

"But nobody should be fooled by this. He is delaying his announcement about withdrawing more troops from Vietnam, according to our information, not to influence the enemy, but to influence the American university students just before the start of the new school year. And the irony of this is that it won't work—or at least it won't work for long."

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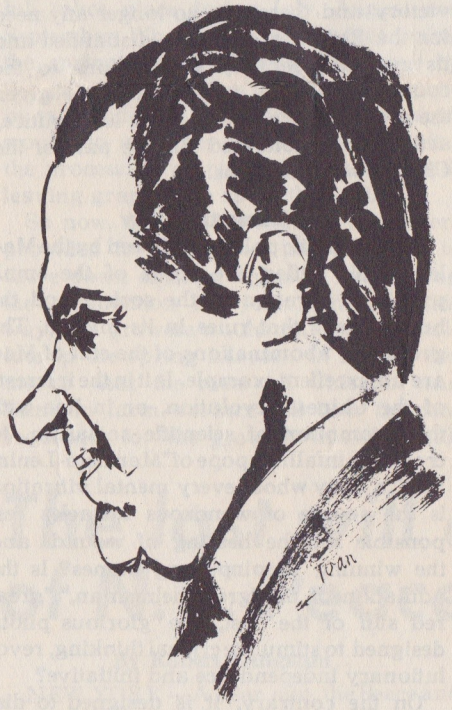
Washington has not ruled out the possibility of actually defeating the Vietnamese revolution on the battlefield. The Paris talks, Johnson's resignation, and Nixon's promises and fake withdrawals all fall into the category of lulling the American public into believing the administration is seriously seeking peace in South Vietnam.



Nixon

Nevertheless, James Reston has sharply pointed out the contradiction between making those promises and buying time: It

U of Washington: A legal basis for student power

SEATTLE, Aug. 26—The Student Mobilization Committee at the University of Washington is already laying plans for the fall offensive against the war in Vietnam. In addition to mobilizing for the Nov. 14 student strike and the Nov. 15 march in San Francisco, SMC is gathering forces to oppose campus complicity with the war.

Some diligent research work by SMC members has uncovered the fact that according to the terms of the articles of incorporation of the university in 1903, the entire student body is recognized as a corporation with the right to make contracts and enter into agreements with the U. S. and foreign governments.

The Associated Students of the University of Washington (ASUW), can call a mass decision-making meeting with binding force on the corporation if a petition signed by five percent of the student body requests one. The quorum at such a meeting is three percent of the student body or about 900 students. Apparently there was a real student apathy problem at UW back in 1903 but that is not the case today. SMC members have been collecting signatures and should have no trouble getting a meeting for the first weeks of school.

As soon as school reopens in the fall SMC members will be out with petitions and leaflets announcing a mass planning meeting to draft an agenda with specific

age of labor. In Cuba today, everyone has work. In the past, the unemployed, those who were literally starving, would pour into the sugar cane areas at harvest time. Workers would also be brought in from Haiti and other countries to supplement the harvest labor force. But today, Cuba plans to achieve this record harvest through volunteer effort involving millions of workers.

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The Brigade is being organized by a committee which includes Allen Young, Julie Nichamin, Jerry Long, Karen Ashley, Arlene Bergman, Dave Dellinger, John McAuliff, Al Martinet, and others, The organizers hope to have a widely representative delegation, including a substantial third-world contingent.

Those interested in applying for the Venceremos Brigade should write to Brigade, P.O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025. Applications must be in by Sept. 20, 1969.

Antiwar forces at Mich. fair

DETROIT—Something new awaits this year's visitors to the Michigan state fair—an exhibit on the fall antiwar offensive. "The state fair has had booths for Army recruitment and booths for war memorials, but I don't think it's ever had a peace booth before," says Maurice Geary, chairman of the fair exhibit committee of the newly formed Detroit Coalition to End the War Now.

Subcommittees of the new antiwar coali-

SEATTLE, Aug. 26—The Student Mobilization Committee at the University of Washington is already laying plans for the fall offensive against the war in Vietnam. In addition to mobilizing for the Nov. 14 student strike and the Nov. 15 march in San Francisco, SMC is gathering forces to oppose campus complicity with the war.

Some diligent research work by SMC members has uncovered the fact that according to the terms of the articles of incorporation of the university in 1903, the entire student body is recognized as a corporation with the right to make contracts and enter into agreements with the U. S. and foreign governments.

The Associated Students of the University of Washington (ASUW), can call a mass decision-making meeting with binding force on the corporation if a petition signed by five percent of the student body requests one. The quorum at such a meeting is three percent of the student body or about 900 students. Apparently there was a real student apathy problem at UW back in 1903 but that is not the case today. SMC members have been collecting signatures and should have no trouble getting a meeting for the first weeks of school.

As soon as school reopens in the fall SMC members will be out with petitions and leaflets announcing a mass planning meeting to draft an agenda with specific demands for the corporation meeting. SMC is inviting all political tendencies and individuals to contribute ideas.

By using these formal channels SMC hopes to bring home the reality of university complicity with the war to the majority of the student body. If, for instance, the corporation meeting decides to grant SMC free office space and a sizable budget to use for antiwar organizing, could UW Presidend Charles E. Odegaard veto the decision without exposing his preference for ROTC and war research which are liberally supported by the university? If the SMC can mobilize enough support to make its demands stick, President Odegaard and company will have to reveal that **they** in fact are the disruptors if they defy the will of the majority.

Needless to say, the SMC is not counting on the good faith of the administration, but rather attempting to mobilize thousands of students to back up the demands with direct action if necessary.

either. I reckon it was moral support because nobody—we didn't want to go."

Pfc. Carl Morton of Elmsford, N. Y., said: "The whole company definitely was behind the refusal. None of us thought we would withstand being pinned down another day or spend another night out there.

"So we decided somebody had to see the I. G. [Inspector General]. Everybody couldn't, so those five volunteered and everybody agreed that they would represent the entire company, to try to get someone out there that could do something about what was going on."

Ironically, one argument to downgrade the Company A revolt consisted of asserting that such revolts are routine. **New York Times** correspondent James P. Sterba wrote Aug. 28 that a typical response to news of the revolt was:

"A lot of guys don't want to go back in there and they say so. But they do it anyway. They complain all the while until the shooting starts . . . That C. O. [Shurtz] must have been new. He didn't know the ropes. And word got out and now there's a big stink."

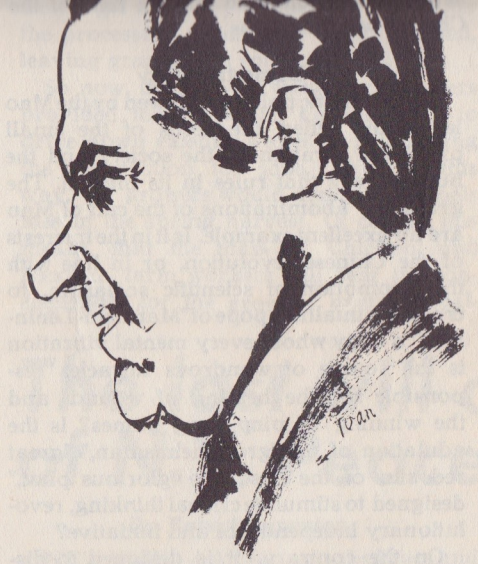
Sterba claimed that the revolt could not be explained by the feeling of "fighting in lost causes, fighting for no apparent reason, antiwar sentiment, troop withdrawl or the Paris peace talks."

Sterba's explanation nevertheless deserves note: "The elephant grass here cuts arms and faces, sometimes drawing blood that mixes with sweat and forms itchy scabs that become infected after a few days. There are no showers in this valley, and few shaves. Water is for drinking only.

"The soldiers here zigzag through the shoulder-high grass wearing sweaty jungle boots, inch-thick flak jackets and steel helmets and carrying 30 to 70 pounds of ammunition and gear.

"Sleep is precious. Lapses into slumber compete with thoughts of enemy ambushes and mortar attacks. The two do not mix well."

Sterba overlooked some things that were uncomfortably apparent to James Reston, veteran correspondent and **New York Times** vice president. Reston spelled these facts out in a column, Aug. 27. His reasoning is worthy of the closest attention by antiwar activists—particularly since it concerns them!



Nixon

revolution on the battlefield. The Paris talks, Johnson's resignation, and Nixon's promises and fake withdrawals all fall into the category of lulling the American public into believing the administration is seriously seeking peace in South Vietnam.

Nevertheless, James Reston has sharply pointed out the contradiction between making those promises and buying time: It means more and more young men are going to die when U. S. troops are purportedly going to be withdrawn anyway. It is Korea over again, only many more Americans will die this time than during those "negotiations."

Reston fears that American students won't buy it. He predicts that even if the Nixon administration announces another withdrawal virtually the day before school opens, it won't stop a massive show of antiwar, antiadministration feeling on the campuses.

And although he doesn't say it, Reston seems to be aware of plans for national antiwar demonstrations in November sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the New Mobilization Committee: A moratorium Oct. 15, a school strike against the war Nov. 14, and a mammoth march on Washington Nov. 15. They are going to place the questions of the war on Nixon's doorstep and Reston believes the President will be in trouble.

Karen Ashley, Arlene Bergman, Dave Dellinger, John McAuliff, Al Martinet, and others, The organizers hope to have a widely representative delegation, including a substantial third-world contingent.

Those interested in applying for the Venceremos Brigade should write to Brigade, P.O. Box 643, Cathedral Station, New York, N. Y. 10025. Applications must be in by Sept. 20, 1969.

Antiwar forces at Mich. fair

DETROIT—Something new awaits this year's visitors to the Michigan state fair—an exhibit on the fall antiwar offensive. "The state fair has had booths for Army recruitment and booths for war memorials, but I don't think it's ever had a peace booth before," says Maurice Geary, chairman of the fair exhibit committee of the newly formed Detroit Coalition to End the War Now.

Subcommittees of the new antiwar coalition include GI, labor, students, third world (black and Chicano) and women. Among the more than 30 organizations belonging to the coalition, fair visitors can usually find one to work with in building the fall demonstrations. Some of the member groups are Lafayette Park Vietnam Committee, Dow 9, Chicago 15, Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, AFT Local 1964, Ad Hoc Committee for Justice, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Socialist Workers Party, Draft Resistance, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Detroit Women for Peace, Women's Liberation, New Democratic Coalition, and the Student Mobilization Committee.

According to the Detroit Coalition's three cochairmen—Professor Carol Andreas, Professor David Herreshoff and attorney James Lafferty—a bus and car caravan is already being organized to bring Detroit area participants to the massive demonstration called for Nov. 15 in Washington, D. C. Transportation will be subsidized for those unable to pay.

An unvarnished history (XII)

PL and the Peking bureaucracy

THE CHAIRMAN'S SWIM-IN. Bouyed up by thought of Chairman Mao, soldiers of China's People's Liberation Army swim, with arms raised, in military formation last July 16. That day entire nation participated in swim-in to celebrate third anniversary of Chairman's epoch-making, record-breaking swim.

By Mary-Alice Waters

Is China today dominated by a privileged, nationalist-minded bureaucratic caste that is steering a domestic and international course designed to meet its own immediate needs, not those of the Chinese masses or of the world revolution? That is a key question in determining the political nature of an organization like Progressive Labor which has consistently

proved, political activity on the part of any other sector of the population — such as the Red Guards — is tolerated only insofar as it serves the needs of the bureaucracy as a whole, or different factions of the bureaucracy struggling for power. Once the Maoist faction had consolidated its victory and there was no longer any need for the Red Guard, it was disbanded and

tarian democracy within the institutions of Chinese society, the obfuscation of the real political, economic and other differences by leveling totally unsubstantiated charges against all who disagreed with Mao, the use of the army as the main instrument of support for Mao, the significant growth of the army's influence — all these and many other factors give

Chou En-lai, proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Revolutionary Marxists do not criticize Peking or the other workers states for engaging in diplomatic maneuvering. That is often necessary. But there is a vast difference between diplomatic maneuvering and aiding the ruling class of a capitalist country in defeating a revolutionary

the Peking bureaucracy

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Is China today dominated by a privileged, nationalist-minded bureaucratic caste that is steering a domestic and international course designed to meet its own immediate needs, not those of the Chinese masses or of the world revolution? That is a key question in determining the political nature of an organization like Progressive Labor which has consistently and uncritically supported the policies of the Chinese government. In fact, virtually the **only** consistent aspect of PL's program has been support for the Peking bureaucracy.

First, on the question of privileges. It is extremely difficult to obtain detailed, completely reliable information about life in China, because the Mao regime itself refuses to allow even sympathetic visitors to travel freely in the country. There are still areas of China where **no** foreigner has been since the revolution. This highly restrictive policy in itself raises many questions about the Chinese regime — what are they trying to hide? Why the secrecy? What needs to be concealed?

Such clandestinity stands in sharp contrast to the openness of the Cuban regime, for example, which allows visitors to move freely around the island, talking with anyone and everyone. They do not try to hide the fact that some inequalities and privileges exist, because they too consider this a problem and are working to combat it.

No reliable statistical data exists which documents the wage differentiation between the average Chinese peasant or worker and the average army man or state functionary. Based on the information that does exist, it appears that the degree of differentiation is greater than in Cuba. But the Chinese leadership has not attempted to hide the fact that it has instituted a system of material incentives to spur production. Nor has it attempted to hide the fact that it has instituted a system of rewards and privileges for the bureaucracy.

Political activity on the part of any other sector of the population — such as the Red Guards — is tolerated only insofar as it serves the needs of the bureaucracy as a whole, or different factions of the bureaucracy struggling for power. Once the Maoist faction had consolidated its victory and there was no longer any need for the Red Guard, it was disbanded and its members sent by the millions to the countryside. And despite the name given the great "cultural" event, even less political activity was tolerated on the part of the Chinese working class.

Domestic policy

The domestic policies followed by the Mao leadership reflect the needs of the small privileged stratum of the society and the bureaucracy that rules in its interest. The grotesque abominations of the cult of Mao are an excellent example. Is it in the interests of the Chinese revolution, or in line with the promotion of scientific socialism, to create an infallible pope of "Marxism-Leninism," a deity whose every mental vibration is the source of wondrous miracles responsible for the healing of wounds and the winning of pinp-pong games? Is the adulation of the "great helmsman," "great red sun of the east," the "glorious pilot," designed to stimulate critical thinking, revolutionary independence and initiative?

On the contrary, it is designed to discredit any who dare think for themselves, any who dare challenge the correctness of the policies advanced by the shining red sun himself.

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tarian democracy within the institutions of Chinese society, the obfuscation of the real political, economic and other differences by leveling totally unsubstantiated charges against all who disagreed with Mao, the use of the army as the main instrument of support for Mao, the significant growth of the army's influence — all these and many other factors give ample testimony to the willingness of the Peking bureaucracy to subordinate the interests of the revolution.

Foreign policy

Peking's foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. Whatever the rhetoric may be, when it comes down to the decisive questions Peking has demonstrated itself totally willing to use those forces outside China which look to Peking for leadership as pawns in Peking's diplomatic games rather than urging them to follow a principled revolutionary line. And Peking itself has no qualms about sacrificing principles for some immediate "practical" gain.

For example, when the Boumedienne coup occurred in Algeria in June 1965, blocking the possibility that the Algerian revolution would take the Cuban road (in any immediate sense), China rushed to recognize the new regime within hours, hailing it as a revolutionary step by the Algerian people. By doing so Peking hoped to gain a factional advantage over the Soviet leaders at the Afro-Asian Conference scheduled to open in Algiers shortly after the coup. The Algerian students responded by publicly burning the Chinese flag. The attitude of the Chinese leadership stood in sharp contrast to that of the Cubans.

Chou En-lai, proceeded in a cordial atmosphere.

Revolutionary Marxists do not criticize Peking or the other workers states for engaging in diplomatic maneuvering. That is often necessary. But there is a vast difference between diplomatic maneuvering and aiding the ruling class of a capitalist country in defeating a revolutionary upsurge directed against a hated military dictatorship. It is the difference between revolution and counterrevolution.

Peking's policy vis-a-vis the Sukarno government of Indonesia followed exactly the same pattern. Because the Sukarno regime was willing to maintain diplomatic and trade relations with Peking, the Chinese leaders counselled the pro-Peking Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) to bloc with the "progressive bourgeoisie" represented by Sukarno and subordinate all revolutionary perspectives to that bloc. Far from preparing a struggle for power, the PKI placed Sukarno's portrait beside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin at their public gatherings, called upon the Indonesian masses to learn from the "beloved Bung Karno" and "expressed thanks to President Sukarno for the promise he has made to arm the workers and peasants when necessary." (**Peking Review**, June 4, 1965, Chairman D. N. Aidit's speech to the rally celebrating the 45th anniversary of the founding of the PKI)

The Peking leadership totally endorsed the policies followed by the PKI — the policies that led directly to the massacre of close to half a million Indonesian Communists and sympathizers.

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No reliable statistical data exists which documents the wage differentiation between the average Chinese peasant or worker and the average army man or state functionary. Based on the information that does exist, it appears that the degree of difference between the highest paid bureaucrat and the lowest paid worker or peasant is undoubtedly less than in the USSR or the workers states of Eastern Europe. But that is not the decisive criterion.

Privilege is relative. In a country where the masses live extremely close to the subsistence level, where the threat of falling below subsistence level has not been eliminated, even the guarantee of survival represents a privilege enjoyed by few. One need only recall the agricultural crisis of the early '60s in China to realize that the threat of insufficient food remains a very real one for the Chinese masses. While the differential in standard of living may remain relatively small, even minimal differences can be qualitative.

To put it more graphically, in the age of tractors, it may not seem much of a privilege to own an ox, but to the man who must plough by hand, an ox represents a qualitative advance.

The political privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy are even more glaringly apparent. It has a complete monopoly on the right to engage in political activity and express political opinions. As the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" so graphically activity was tolerated on the part of the Chinese working class.

Domestic policy

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During the three year period between 1966 and the end of 1968 more than **two billion** copies of Chairman Mao's **Three Constantly Read Articles, Five Constantly Read Articles** and other "brilliant" works were printed — in addition to 740,000,000 copies of the little red book, close to 300,000,000 sets of the **Selected Works** and **Selected Readings**, and 96,000,000 copies of the good Chairman's poems to boot. Yet during the same period the educational system of China was shut down.

For a country struggling to raise its technological and educational level — a prerequisite to increasing the productivity of labor and the standard of living — the loss of millions of days of education was a staggering blow which will be felt for decades. Unfortunately for China, Mao Tse-tung Thought is a rather inadequate substitute for the study of math, science, engineering, history, languages and all the other specialties the Chinese revolution needs so desperately.

Taken together, the various aspects of the Cultural Revolution provide one of the most striking examples of the manner in which the domestic policies of China's rulers serve their interests, not those of the revolution. The disintegration of the educational system, the grotesque deification of Mao, the total absence of any prole-

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Like the Kremlin leaders, Peking is willing to collaborate with reactionary capitalist rulers when it is advantageous to do so. Pakistan and Indonesia stand as the two most glaring examples. Ayub Khan, the former military dictator of Pakistan, was frequently hailed by Peking as one of the great leaders of the Pakistani people and provided with economic and military aid. When a mass upheaval of revolutionary proportions forced Ayub to step down last March — in favor of a new military dictator — Peking blatantly refused to even acknowledge the events taking place in Pakistan. Two days before Ayub was forced to resign, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Hsieh Fu-chih praised Ayub at a reception in Peking given by the Pakistani ambassador. The new military dictatorship was accorded similar treatment almost as soon as it took over. Revolutionaries in Pakistan were in jail, and the country was ruled by martial law, but a special visit to Peking by one of Pakistan's new dictators in July of this year "produced many avowals of Chinese-Pakistani friendship" and talks, according to

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Much more, of course, could be said about the domestic and international policies of Peking, but such a treatment belongs more properly in a history of the Chinese revolution than one of Progressive Labor. What is of fundamental importance as far as PL is concerned is that from its inception the organization has supported the Chinese bureaucracy and all its policies, dogmatically portraying them as the model for revolutionary theory and action.

The extention of that model and that methodology to the United States has led to the results we have already examined throughout the history of PL. Their approach towards every major event in the international class struggle has been to subordinate the interests of the world revolution to what it sees as the needs of the Peking bureaucracy and to the immediate narrow factional needs of Progressive Labor.

It all comes back to the starting point of this "unvarnished history" — PL's origins in the American Communist Party and failure to ever break with or understand Stalinism. From that beginning, the evolution of Progressive Labor has pursued a thoroughly consistent course.

(The End)

Blacks fight to crack building trades

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 4 — Struggles have erupted in Chicago, Buffalo, Pittsburgh and elsewhere by black workers to break down the walls of the racist, job-trust building-trades unions and get a share of the well-paying jobs in the $80-billion-a-year construction industry.

Reflecting this development, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced at a New York news conference yesterday that it is launching a series of legal actions to bolster the fight of black construction workers for a fair share of construction jobs.

We're going to be easier on the eyes

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Venceremos!

The staff

debts "again and again" to Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council and Peter J. Brennan, president of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council, by granting building-trades unions "virtual immunity from the State Civil Rights Law."

The Struggle in Pittsburgh

The labor battles in Pittsburgh last week underlined this new arena of the black liberation struggle and exemplified some of the problems it will face.

For three days, beginning Monday, Aug. 25, the Pittsburgh "Black Construction Coalition" conducted increasingly larger demonstrations around the demands of jobs now and black membership in the overwhelmingly white Pittsburgh building-trades unions. The Coalition reportedly has the support of every black group in the city.

On Tuesday, Coalition demonstrators, including wives and children as well as white clergymen, teachers and others were attacked by club-swinging cops in downtown Pittsburgh. There were 180 arrests and 45 injuries — including 12 policemen.

Wednesday, white workers dropped water-filled bags on black picketers in front of one construction site: a 64-story, $100-million office building for the new headquarters of U. S. Steel Corporation.

That night Pittsburgh's Mayor Joseph M. Barr made a move to block the Coalition struggle by a maneuver designed to further pit the construction workers against the jobless blacks. Claiming that he wanted to "head off violence," Barr shut down construction work on 10 major sites, throwing 13,000 predominantly white workers out of their jobs and onto the streets.

It had the desired effect. On Thursday and Friday, thousands of white construction workers poured down on City Hall

FIGHT FOR JOBS. Black defense group keeps watch at building site of new stadium in Pittsburgh. Major construction projects were halted Aug. 25 by black struggle against racist practices of bosses, government and construction unions.

workers, are lily-white. The Pittsburgh area has a 20-percent black population.

The mood of white workers in the Thursday and Friday demonstrations, numbering 1,700 and 4,500 respectively, was expressed by an apprentice, Ralph Boss, of Sprinkler Fitters Local No. 1542, as reported by **Pittsburgh Post-Gazette** correspondent Mike Bourmann:

"They think they can ignore us. They're wrong. They're messing with the wrong people when they start messing with construction workers. You start taking a man's bread off his table and that's where he

Connecticut jury indicts Seale

In the latest frame-up of the leadership of the Black Panther Party, a New Haven, Conn., grand jury dutifully indicted Panther chairman Bobby Seale Aug. 27 on a first-degree murder charge.

Connecticut police allege that Seale, while present in New Haven May 19 for a

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Chicago Afro-Americans shut down building sites

By Ellis Burruss and J. Lawrence

CHICAGO—Since July 22 a coalition of community organizations has picketed and successfully shut down work at some 20 construction sites in the black community to protest the racist hiring practices and discriminatory apprenticeship programs of the overwhelmingly white Pittsburgh building-trades unions. The Coalition reportedly has the support of every black group in the city.

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It had the desired effect. On Thursday and Friday, thousands of white construction workers poured down on City Hall shouting "Why aren't we working?" "Who's going to pay us?" "White police and union unity!" "We are the majority!" Some carried Wallace for President signs.

The white workers swarmed into the mayor's office. There were no arrests.

Since then the situation has cooled while representatives of the jobless black workers, the building-trades unions and the Master Builders Association are meeting with city-appointed mediators.

The building-trades unions in Pittsburgh include about 30,000 members, but the total black membership is only two percent. Some of the unions, like the electricians, iron workers and asbestos workers, are lily-white. The Pittsburgh area has a 20-percent black population.

The mood of white workers in the Thursday and Friday demonstrations, numbering 1,700 and 4,500 respectively, was expressed by an apprentice, Ralph Boss, of Sprinkler Fitters Local No. 1542, as reported by **Pittsburgh Post-Gazette** correspondent Mike Bourmann:

"They think they can ignore us. They're wrong. They're messing with the wrong people when they start messing with construction workers. You start taking a man's bread off his table and that's where he draws the line."

Boss revealed, although he didn't seem to know it, that the exceptionally long so-called apprentice programs in these unions serve as a means of keeping blacks out and protecting the privileges of the members. He said:

"I came out of the service and took the test. I've come put in three years and have two to go to get my book. If I have to go through it, then everybody should have to go through it. They think they're going to come in and start at the top, well they're wrong."

The 30,000-member Building Trade Council began the explosive week by offering 90 to 100 apprentice programs for unskilled workers. That offer was rejected outright by the Black Construction Coalition. The number is still under negotiation.

There are several key demands that the black (and white) workers could make which would help cut across the racism of the union bureaucracies and place the blame where it belongs—on the capitalist ruling class and its government.

One of these is to demand a shorter workweek for everyone with no decrease in pay. This would enable many black workers to get the jobs they need without jeopardizing the jobs of the white workers.

A second important demand is for an ing a series of legal actions to bolster the fight of black construction workers for a fair share of construction jobs.

The NAACP suit zeroes in on the fact that the U. S. government is funding major construction projects across the nation but isn't enforcing its own supposed laws against job discrimination.

NAACP national labor director Herbert Hill said at the news conference that the association was seeking legal means to stop work on government-financed construction unless qualified blacks were employed on the projects.

Hill also attacked New York Governor Rockefeller for his role in protecting discriminatory practices by unions and contractors in New York State. Hill charged that the Governor had paid his political tion. Judge Walker Butler then issued a blanket temporary injunction against picketing of construction sites by more than six people and interference with work.

Chicago has a particularly racist history regarding housing construction. In an unfair housing suit won by the ACLU against the city of Chicago in 1966, it was demon-

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Connecticut police allege that Seale, while present in New Haven May 19 for a speaking engagement at Yale, ordered the execution of Alex Rackley. The cops' story is that Rackley was a member of the Black Panthers who turned police informer and that the Panthers murdered Rackley after subjecting him to torture and a "kangaroo court" trial.

Police have failed to explain how Seale could have been implicated in the alleged kidnapping and torture of Rackley, which supposedly occurred May 16, three days before Seale was in Connecticut, or how he could be guilty of a murder that supposedly took place May 21, two days after he left the state.

Fourteen Panthers have been arrested in the Connecticut police dragnet centering on the alleged murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

Seale has been held without bond in San Francisco since Aug. 20 by means of highly illegal and unusual courtroom gymnastics of California officials bent on denying him bail and extraditing him to Connecticut.

New York Panthers denied lower bail

NEW YORK—Federal Judge Edmund Palmieri refused Aug. 26 to reduce the exorbitant bail set by a New York State

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The Coalition for United Community Action, first formed in March to fight against racist practices of the Red Rooster grocery store chain, has now grown to involve over 60 local community organizations including SCLC's Operation Breadbasket, the Black P. Stone Nation, the Black Disciples, the Conservative Vicelords and the Valley Community Organization.

The central demand of the coalition is that the Builders Association of Chicago and the Building Trades Council, representing the contractors and the unions respectively, stop importing white workers into the black community and immediately provide 10,000 skilled job openings for black workers.

On Aug. 11 the coalition attempted to close down construction at the University of Illinois Circle Campus on Chicago's Near West Side. The cops attacked and arrested several leaders of the action including Robert Lucas, national chairman of the Black Liberation Alliance and David Reed of the Valley Community Organization. Judge Walker Butler then issued a blanket temporary injunction against picketing of construction sites by more than six people and interference with work.

Chicago has a particularly racist history regarding housing construction. In an unfair housing suit won by the ACLU against the city of Chicago in 1966, it was demonstrated that it costs the same to build a cramped, poorly designed 16-story "ghetto" housing complex as to build a luxury high rise on the Lake Shore Drive equipped with air conditioning and plaster (rather than painted-over cinder block) walls!

The union bureaucracies in the building trades are working hand-in-glove with the employers to protect their own narrow interests and privileged positions, thereby aiding the capitalists in maintaining the black unemployed as a reserve army of labor that can be hired when needed for the grimiest, lowest-paying jobs.

Besides the main demand for 10,000 jobs, the Coalition has raised other demands during the struggle which could well become significant in future struggles. These include: 1) elimination of racist practices in the building trades unions; 2) preferential hiring and advancement of black workers and free access to apprentice training programs and the skilled trades; 3) equal rights and treatment for all black union members; 4) black control of hiring and firing for construction projects in the black community.

to know it, that the exceptionally long so-called apprentice programs in these unions serve as a means of keeping blacks out and protecting the privileges of the members. He said:

"I came out of the service and took the test. I've come put in three years and have two to go to get my book. If I have to go through it, then everybody should have to go through it. They think they're going to come in and start at the top, well they're wrong."

The 30,000-member Building Trade Council began the explosive week by offering 90 to 100 apprentice programs for unskilled workers. That offer was rejected outright by the Black Construction Coalition. The number is still under negotiation.

There are several key demands that the black (and white) workers could make which would help cut across the racism of the union bureaucracies and place the blame where it belongs—on the capitalist ruling class and its government.

One of these is to demand a shorter workweek for everyone with no decrease in pay. This would enable many black workers to get the jobs they need without jeopardizing the jobs of the white workers.

A second important demand is for an expanded federal works program—building the houses, schools and recreation facilities that are desperately needed throughout the land. The federal government is wasting billions of dollars on military projects to maintain its world apparatus of capitalist repression.

It refuses to spend a fraction of that amount on projects that really would benefit society. In fact the Nixon administration is rapidly cutting back federal spending in city after city and state after state. If the capitalist government has its way, it is certain that many of the white construction workers who have jobs today will be facing big job problems in the not too distant future.

Demands for a shorter workweek without reduction in pay and for expanded public works construction would greatly strengthen the struggle of the black communities to crack the job barrier.

Meanwhile, regardless of the number of jobs available, black people are entitled to their share of them and should have the support of every antiracist in their fight to win them.

Panthers who turned police informer and that the Panthers murdered Rackley after subjecting him to torture and a "kangaroo court" trial.

Police have failed to explain how Seale could have been implicated in the alleged kidnapping and torture of Rackley, which supposedly occurred May 16, three days before Seale was in Connecticut, or how he could be guilty of a murder that supposedly took place May 21, two days after he left the state.

Fourteen Panthers have been arrested in the Connecticut police dragnet centering on the alleged murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

Seale has been held without bond in San Francisco since Aug. 20 by means of highly illegal and unusual courtroom gymnastics of California officials bent on denying him bail and extraditing him to Connecticut.

New York Panthers denied lower bail

NEW YORK—Federal Judge Edmund Palmieri refused Aug. 26 to reduce the exorbitant bail set by a New York State supreme court for 13 of the "Panther 21," alleged members of a Black Panther Party "conspiracy" to bomb New York department stores, police stations and the botanical gardens.

The state court had set bail at the outrageously high $100,000 each for 10 of the accused Afro-Americans and lower but still prohibitive bail for three others. Gerald Lefcourt, a defense attorney for these frameup victims, charged that the refusal to lower bail was a flagrant violation of the constitution deliberately designed to keep the defendants in jail.

During the bail hearing before the federal judge, New York County Assistant District Attorney Joseph Phillips wove a new thread in the state's Alice-in-Wonderland tale of the Panther "conspiracy." The defendants, he said, "contemplated bombing subways" by placing explosive devices in the subway system control rooms and thereby "disrupting the entire subway proceedings here in New York." Considering the present state of such "subway proceedings," further disruption would indeed be a neat trick.

Trotsky's analysis: the role of unions under imperialism

On the Trade Unions, by Leon Trotsky. Part I: Communism and Syndicalism; Part II: Problems of Union Strategy and Tactics. Prefaces by Farrell Dobbs. 1969, Merit Publishers, 80pp., $.95.

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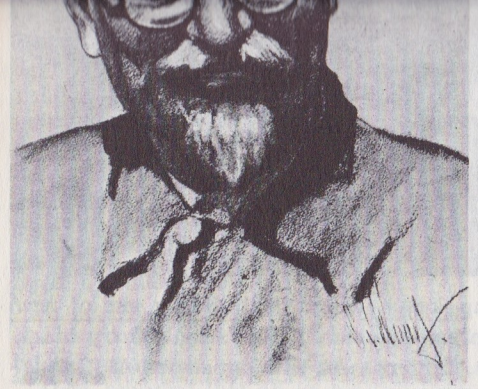

# of unions under imperialism

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The observation that there is change in the unions is a commonplace today. Much is written about rebel caucus formations, restiveness among young workers, angry black workers, the appearance of new all-black unions, and the organization of black caucuses inside the established unions. Squabbles, splits, and regroupments within the union bureaucracy are widely publicized.

This ferment in the ranks, and the cracks in the bureaucratic crust, both reflect and advance the impending political crisis of the U. S. ruling class, even though neither the rebellious workers nor their placid union leaders may yet be aware of that fact.

The depth of social unrest in this country was first revealed in the antiwar demonstrations and the campus revolts. Now, many of these young radicals are beginning to realize that the working class is the crucial force for fundamental change within capitalist society. And with this realization comes renewed interest in the section of the working class that is organized in trade unions.

Therefore, this collection of writings by Leon Trotsky is timely. It will be useful to the newly radicalized student who is trying to find out what unions are, how they operate, and what ends they serve.

strument of the employing class, the unions as social institutions (and their relation to the government), the union bureaucracies which serve the interests of the employers, the development of transitional demands to mobilize the workers and prepare the way for workers' control of industry, and the struggle for state power.

The first part of the pamphlet, "Communism and Syndicalism," is a series of articles that first appeared, under the same title, in English in 1931. It has been long out of print, and its reappearance should be welcome to the serious young radical who may have entertained naive longings about the spontaneous uprising of the masses, sparked by student revolts, that will one day soon bring the ruling class of this country to its knees. He will learn that such notions are not new, are not revolutionary, and have nothing in common with Marxist theory.

French Experience

In the first two articles, written in 1923, Trotsky discusses the tasks within the trade unions of the revolutionary French workers who had joined the recently formed Communist Party. His argument is in the form of a polemic against some French union leaders who were imbued with anarcho-syndicalist prejudices but had found their way into the CP.

The three following essays, written in 1929 and 1930, explain why these syndicalist-minded union leaders gave up their revolutionary goals and ended in comfortable adjustment to the established order. The final article in the pamphlet's

differences of race, nationality and religion.

Despite all this diversity, all workers have a common interest in opposition to the employing class, and recognition of this common interest is precisely what constitutes class consciousness. But there is necessarily a wide range in the degree of class consciousness and in the rate of its development in different sections of the class. To suppose that the mass of the workers will all at once one day spontaneously attain revolutionary consciousness, throw off the capitalist yoke, and thereby allow the already constituted vanguard, organized in revolutionary unions, to reconstruct society, is to fall victim to an empty abstraction.

Rise of the Unions

What role, then, can the unions play in the struggle for workers' power? The unions are organizations of workers that first appeared with the rise of the modern factory system in the 19th century. They are class organizations, and they developed through bitter struggles for shorter hours, improved working conditions, and higher living standards. They were initially organized and led by radical workers — many of whom were followers of Marx and members of the International which he

the working class produce an organization that will truly represent its historic interests, and can the unions be transformed into revolutionary organizations that will help transfer state power from the capitalists to the workers? Trotsky answers both parts of this question affirmatively.

Since the task is to achieve a transfer of class power in the state, it is above all a **political** task. This means that to carry out this task, the working class must organize its own **political party**. It must be a party of a particular kind: a party of the most advanced and devoted workers, organized and controlled by them, with the aim of leading the working class to the conquest of power.

This conception of the party defines the relation that must exist between the party and the unions, for the party must **win the confidence** of the overwhelming majority of the workers, both the organized and the unorganized. It is a long and difficult road, but the experience of Lenin's Bolshevik party proves that it is one that can be traveled all the way.

Against both syndicalist ultraleftism and opportunism in trade-union activity, Trotsky defines the Marxist approach: "The correctly understood task of the Communist Party does not consist solely of gaining influence over trade unions, such as

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Therefore, this collection of writings by Leon Trotsky is timely. It will be useful to the newly radicalized student who is trying to find out what unions are, how they operate, and what ends they serve. And the young militants in the unions will find here valuable strategic and tactical advice in the struggle to make the unions serve the basic interests of the workers.

In these works, Trotsky deals with such fundamental questions as the historic role of the revolutionary workers' party, the character of the government as an in-

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther

The Record of an Opportunist

By Beatrice Hansen

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873 Broadway,
New York, N. Y.

▪merit

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The three following essays, written in 1929 and 1930, explain why these syndicalist-minded union leaders gave up their revolutionary goals and ended in comfortable adjustment to the established order. The final article in the pamphlet's first part, which was written in 1931, reviews the historical development of Communist policy in the trade unions, criticizes the mistakes that were made, and develops the basic ideas essential to the formulation of correct policy.

One of the fundamental errors in syndicalist theory is the view that the most militant and class-conscious workers ought to organize their own independent unions. In this way, the theory runs, organs of power can be created within the existing society around which the new society can be established when the great working-class mass finally strikes down the employers and drives their representatives from the halls of government.

Implicit in this conception is a misunderstanding of the nature of the working class. While this class encompasses the great majority of the population in advanced capitalist society, it is by no means homogeneous. There are great differences in income. There are divisions between skilled and unskilled, organized and unorganized, employed and unemployed. The organized are divided by craft, industry and geography. There are

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Since those days, the unions everywhere have undergone many changes. Their great strength is in their numbers. As they grew and wrested concessions from the employing class and finally won legal status, many divisions developed within the ranks of the union movement. Separate and often hostile federations of unions appeared, more conservative spokesmen who knew better how to "get along" with employers began to take the leadership, and very often unions separated over questions of ideology, with radical leaders in one wing and the conservatives in the other.

Does this mean that the unions must forever remain disunited and that the working class as a whole can never be adequately represented? The union movement in general, through the official statements and proclamations of all its representatives, has always claimed to advance the interests of all workers. However, in practice, each union most often represents only its dues-paying members, and this not very well. The question, more properly put, is: Can

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Against both syndicalist ultraleftism and opportunism in trade-union activity, Trotsky defines the Marxist approach: "The correctly understood task of the Communist Party does not consist solely of gaining influence over trade unions, such as they are, but in winning, through the trade unions, an influence over the majority of the working class. This is possible only if the methods employed by the party in the trade unions correspond to the nature and the tasks of the latter . . . If the party buys its influence in the trade unions only at the price of a narrowing down and a factionalizing of the latter — converting them into auxiliaries of the party for momentary aims and preventing them from becoming genuine mass organizations — the relations between the party and the class are wrong."

Trotsky supports this view through a concrete analysis of the mistakes and false policies of the early Communist parties of England and France.

The second part of the pamphlet, "Problems of Union Strategy and Tactics," consists of essays, letters and a discussion transcript from the years 1931 to 1940. In these, Trotsky applies to particular trade-union situations in England, the Netherlands, and the United States the principled position developed in the first part of the collection in opposition to the anarcho-syndicalists. The overall strategic

POSTWAR UPSURGE. The end of World War II saw a sharp rise in labor radicalism. Corporations assumed returning veterans could be pitted against unions and opened a union-busting offensive. But returning GIs proved most militant and active fighters on picket lines. At same time unions backed worldwide GI "bring-us-home" demonstrations that forced U.S. imperialism to retreat from its plans for keeping giant force deployed around globe in preparation for World War III. Key struggle of the time was militantly fought, victorious strike struggle of auto workers against General Motors (above). Striking steelworkers (left) posed questions that were dominant among ranks of labor.

task is to achieve a political party of the workers with a revolutionary program and the aim of taking state power. The chief obstacles are the terrible drag of the union bureaucracies and the social process by which the unions become institutionalized and tend to be drawn ever more deeply into the government apparatus of the employing class.

Within this framework, Trotsky discusses

this country. John L. Lewis, quite correctly, did not hesitate to walk out of the old AFL when the reactionary, craft-minded executive board turned down plans to build industrial unions. The industrial-union program succeeded in 1935 because it met the urgent need of the entire working class, the need to organize.

By their aggressive struggle to build industrial unions, the leaders of the CIO

the party, and the program finds the leaders to carry it out.

This point receives special emphasis in the "Discussion with a CIO Organizer." Any militant in the shops today will recognize Trotsky's discussion partner. He is knowledgeable, well intentioned, willing to listen and learn. But he can't do anything. He is like a lot of young militants today who get elected union chairman

wage increases. Despite this, the escalator clause benefited the auto workers for years, and it redounded to the popularity of Reuther — until he drastically weakened it in the 1967 auto negotiations.

Reuther, a talented demagogue, always has some sort of "plan" which appears to be beneficial to the working class as a whole, and not only to the auto workers. He thereby projects the image of a champion of justice and equality for all. He especially needs such an image just now, because he has recently turned his back on the AFL-CIO and is now out to extend his influence among other unaffiliated unions and the unorganized workers he hopes to recruit.

He has lifted these "plans" from the arsenal of Marxism, but he has one difference with Marxism: the goal. While Trotsky teaches that the workers must take control of society in their own interest and through their own party, Reuther's aim is to keep the employers in power by persuading them to make some concessions that are mostly more apparent than real.

The auto workers know Reuther well now. His promises are fake. He does not produce. And they know it. They would like to get rid of him and the whole UAW bureaucratic machine. Workers in many other industries feel the same way about the bureaucrats in their unions. They ask the same question, "How?"

The Answer

The answer is contained in this pamphlet. It remains only for this generation of union militants to grasp the basic concepts developed there. When they have done so, the trade-union bureaucracy will be on its way out. And once the bureaucratic grip begins to slip, the working class will not be far away from victory over the capitalist rulers.

The last work in this pamphlet is "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," a series of expanded notes for an article Trotsky was working on at the time of his assassination. Farrell Dobbs, in his introduction, comments: "The final article which is must reading for every Marxist whether or not he is active in the unions, is one of the most brilliant and prophetic Trotsky ever wrote. Far-ranging, pointing to the conditions that were con-

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Within this framework, Trotsky discusses the broad questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. What kind of trade-union unity is necessary, and how can it be achieved? How can union members, caught in the grip of the union bureaucracies, pry open the strangle hold? What kind of discipline is required within the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard party to prevent narrow, opportunist policies from being substituted for — sometimes, even, in the name of — the broad working-class program? How can militant union leaders formulate a program of **transitional demands** that meet the immediate social and economic needs of the working class and provide, at the same time, a bridge to the **political** mobilization of millions in the union movement and beyond it to win these demands?

The present-day relevance of these questions will be obvious to every young worker-militant involved in any of the rank-and-file caucuses springing up in the unions. There is now much talk in the shops about "the union": Is it really no good? Should we go out and form a union of our own? There are no easy answers, but the union militant must give answers and in such a way as to win the support of doubters. Trotsky's discussion is an invaluable aid in developing these answers.

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By their aggressive struggle to build industrial unions, the leaders of the CIO won wide support and great authority. They temporarily isolated the moss-backs at the head of the AFL. They **could have** led a reunification movement on the basis of the industrial-union program, though by the time the reunification of the AFL and CIO took place in 1955, the CIO leaders had already capitulated all down the line.

This experience exemplifies a general principle. Organizations are good only to the extent that they serve a program. In the unions the program must fit the needs of the workers as a **class**. When organizational splits occur, the militants must be sure, in each case, that they happen on a programmatic basis that can enlarge the union movement, thus reducing the influence of the entrenched bureaucrats. Then the union movement can be reunited, under pressure from the rank and file, on the proven, more advanced program.

There are important lessons here for the black militants who are now organizing their own black caucuses in the unions. These caucuses can make broad gains and win great authority if they advance demands that meet the most urgent needs of black workers and at the same time clearly benefit **all** workers. Such demands are not hard to find: Democracy in the

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The CIO organizer, for example, complains: "I see no leaders. There are separate groups, sects, but I see no one who could unite the worker masses, even if I agree with you that the masses are ready for struggle."

Trotsky answers: "The problem is not leaders, but program."

The organizer challenges him: "What do you consider a correct program?"

Trotsky replies: "You know I am a Marxist; more precisely, a Bolshevik. My program has a very short and simple name: **socialist revolution**. But I don't ask that the leaders of the union movement adopt the program of the Fourth International. What I do ask is that they draw conclusions from their work, from their own situations; that for themselves and for the masses they answer just these two questions: 1) How to save the CIO from bankruptcy and destruction? 2) How to save the United States from fascism?"

Transitional Program

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The introductions to parts I and II by Farrell Dobbs are what introductions should be. They prepare the reader for a new experience. And for all readers — including those who may have seen this material before — it will be a new experience. Dobbs explains, simply and briefly, what is to come, the circumstances under which it was produced, and its relevance to the current scene.

The editors have provided five pages of useful reference notes at the end of the pamphlet to acquaint the reader with the people and events mentioned in passing in the text.

—Frank Lovell

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Unity Issue

The question of trade-union unity is an old one. Of course, the unions should be united. That is what unionism is all about. But what are we united **for**? To build a powerful organization with high dues to provide jobs for fat, do-nothing officials? Or to win higher wages, protect our living standards against inflation, and safeguard our children from the ravages of war and death by air pollution? Put this way, the question answers itself. The union must serve the needs of its members, not the greed of its officials.

Organizational loyalty is important in maintaining and building unions, but organizational fetishism — "unity" at all costs and suppression of the question, "Unity for what?" — can be a stumbling block. In general, workers are quite properly reluctant to give up their existing organizations for something untested. But those who want to organize around a correct program cannot let organizational forms be a barrier to the realization of that program.

Nor do they have to. This was proved in the successful drive to build the CIO in the 1930's. Many militants were at the head of the A.F.L. They could have led a reunification movement on the basis of the industrial-union program, though by the time the reunification of the AFL and CIO took place in 1955, the CIO leaders had already capitulated all down the line.

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(These and many other similar demands are proposed and motivated in "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation," issued this year by the Socialist Workers Party. Trotsky's extraordinarily deep, prescient analysis of the complicated but non-contradictory interrelation between class and national struggle in the United States and the important part black nationalism will play in the struggle for working-class emancipation and total social transformation is included in the pamphlet, **Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-determination**, Merit Publishers, 1967.)

Trust Leaders?

A question that always arises in union caucuses and political parties is, "How do you know you can trust these leaders?" Since for Trotsky, program and goal were primary, and the personal qualities of individuals, however important, secondary, he reformulates the question: Is the leader following a correct program; is he guided by the program or is he wandering off along another path? The program makes mistakes because they get caught up in "union procedure" and don't know how to break out.

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Transitional Program

Especially in "Trade Unions in the Transitional Epoch" — a section of the 1938 program of the Fourth International — Trotsky takes up the question of formulating a program of transitional demands. The transitional program has had a somewhat ironic history. Designed for change, it has, in the hands of revolutionaries been changed somewhat to meet changing conditions. But along the way, certain of its demands have been adopted in distorted form and used for their own purposes by the more cunning trade-union bureaucrats.

An example of this is the fate of the demand for a sliding scale of hours and wages. In Trotsky's formulation, the demand is for a sufficient reduction in hours of work to assure that everyone has a job and for automatic pay increases to fully offset price increases.

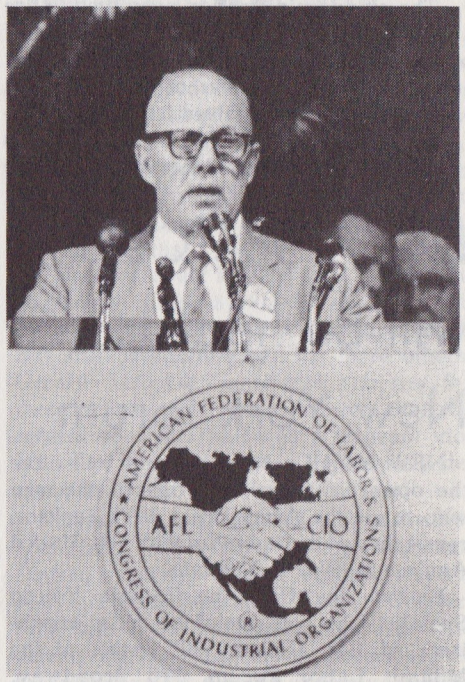
In 1948 — 10 years later — this demand turned up in the United Auto Workers negotiations as the demand for an "escalator clause." But the escalator clause that Walter Reuther negotiated for the auto workers did not include the part about reduction of hours. And the escalator clause included in UAW contracts today even severely restricts the automatic cost-of-living

the need for 'complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.' It is a pity that Trotsky did not live to complete this article, but there is more food for thought (and action) in this short unfinished piece than will be found in any book by anyone else on the union question."

The introductions to parts I and II by Farrell Dobbs are what introductions should be. They prepare the reader for a new experience. And for all readers — including those who may have seen this material before — it will be a new experience. Dobbs explains, simply and briefly, what is to come, the circumstances under which it was produced, and its relevance to the current scene.

The editors have provided five pages of useful reference notes at the end of the pamphlet to acquaint the reader with the people and events mentioned in passing in the text.

—Frank Lovell



TRUE SYMBOL. AFL-CIO president George Meany, the very personification of reactionary, racist union bureaucratism, has actually boasted he's never walked a picket line in his life.

Huge throngs march in commando funeral

By Nick Medvecky

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Aug. 27 — Beirut was host today to a massive demonstration by its citizens. Many thousands of men and women, young and old, poured out into the streets to join a funeral procession for a young commando slain last Sunday in an Israeli air attack in Jordan.

At the same time, about 35 miles to the south, in the Palestinian refugee center of Saida, another funeral demonstration was also in progress for two Al Fatah commandos. Since Saida has such a large Palestinian population, demonstrations there are usually larger than the ones in Beirut.

The two slain guerrilla fighters were Palestinian refugees themselves. The youngest, born in Deir El-Assad, Palestine, in 1949, was Darwish Mustapha Al-Assadi. The older, Mahmoud Nayef Kassem, was born in Alma, Palestine, in 1947. Their families had fled from Palestine with the young infants in the late '40s and have lived in southern Lebanon since.

Men of the unit that had brought the bodies from Jordan for burial explained the circumstances surrounding the deaths.

They reported that 48 jet aircraft from Israel attacked a civilian village very near to their encampment. Two civilians were killed — one a young pregnant girl who could not move quickly enough. Several were wounded. Partisan commandos, or fedayeen, rushed to their aid and two became martyrs.

The people overwhelmingly support the guerrilla fighters, but this appears not to be the case with the Lebanese government.

When these fedayeen, wearing camouflage dress and carrying machine guns, arrived at the Lebanese border Aug. 26., they were refused permission to enter the charge of that point of the border even called in reinforcements in the form of extra troops and a cover of jet fighters. The officer claimed that he acted on no less authority than the office of the Ministry of the Interior.

During all of this a huge crowd had gathered and started to become quite unfriendly to the soldiers. Finally, the crowd surged through the border, physically surrounded the Fatah vehicles and shoved their way back across the border. No further incidents took place and the government remains silent.

The Beirut press, reputed by many to be the "freest" in the Arab world, carried two front-page photos of the vehicles with machine-gun-toting commandos riding through the major thoroughfares of Beirut. No mention was made of the border incident and no mention was made of the planned demonstration or when the funeral would be held.

The most popular chants at the demonstration, led by the young fedayeen on the tops of their Land Rovers, were, "All of us are fedayeen" "Long live Fatah," "Revolution until victory," and many more. In the background, but above the chanting, hundreds of women were making a high-pitched screaming noise whose impact can be appreciated only by hearing it (if you saw "Battle of Algiers," you heard it).

As the demonstration wound through the main streets of Beirut on the way to the Martyr's Burial Site, it was impossible to distinguish between demonstrator and sideline viewer. People joined in from everywhere and from the top of the Fatah vehicle no one could mistake seeing the deep appreciation and profound respect for these young men and women of Al

Photo by Nick Medvecky

Photo of painting by young Fatah commando at encampment in Jordan.

Mine union head has woes

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Photo of painting by young Fatah commando at encampment in Jordan.

Water dep't workers end walkout in Cleveland

By Dave Wulp

CLEVELAND — Thirteen hundred water-department workers here returned to their jobs Aug. 29 after a two-week strike in defense of one of their leaders victimized by the "prolabor" administration of mayor Carl Stokes. The city had attempted to fire Clarence R. King, chief steward of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 100. According to the settlement negotiated by Stokes and AFSCME national president Jerry Wurf, King's penalty was reduced to 30 days' suspension retroactive to Aug. 15. At the same time, though, Wurf acceded to a provision demanded by Stokes which bars strikes by the water-department workers.

The city administration attempted to fire King after he protested the conversion of

unions was quickly settled, but "friend-of-labor" Stokes took the conflict as an occasion to open a union-busting drive on the water workers.

On August 19 — four days after the strike began — Stokes' cops arrested King, Nick Jablenski, president of Local 100, and Anthony Staltari, the union's business agent, for violating the state's "antiriot" law. Just last year, AFL-CIO lobbyists were assured that the law would "never be used against labor."

Besides bargaining in bad faith and invoking the "antiriot" law, the city government illegally withheld the union's dues-checkoff money — amounting to some $8,000. It also hired scabs to do some of the work usually handled by the union members, and the scabs received $6 an hour for doing work union men were

Mine union head has woes

Turbulence within the United Mine Workers continues to give the incumbent president, W.A. Boyle, a bit more than somewhat of trouble.

By August 20 a strike which had begun at the Humphrey No. 7 mine of Consolidated Coal Co. a week before over the firing of five local UMW officials, had spread to 28 mines, involving 7,000 men. Among the struck mines were captive mines belonging to U.S. Steel Corp. and Jones & Laughlin Steel.

UMW top officials immediately rushed into the strike area around Fairmont, W. Va., in an attempt to force the miners back to work. U.S. Steel has instituted a damage suit against the union for $123,000 a day. UMW heads refuse to comment on the suit except to maintain that the strike is unauthorized.

All of which puts the superbureaucrat Boyle in a bind. One of the charges being used against him by his opposition candidate, Joseph Yablonski, is that Boyle "is overly protective of coal company interests."

In an attempt to counteract the Yablonski charge, Boyle warned the mine owners on August 20, that they face a "confrontation"

The National Picketline

Safeway Bus Company, a subsidiary of Trailways, Inc.

There are two unions involved in the strike at three terminals — New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia. One, covering the drivers, is the bus section of the United Transportation Workers, AFL-CIO. The other, covering ticket agents, baggage handlers, baggage agents, and information clerks, is the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union.

On August 26 the Amalgamated rejected a proposed contract with Trailways. On August 27 the United Transportation Workers accepted a contract.

The men and women on strike were not out for higher wages. They are fighting on such issues as the right to holiday pay, the right to a regular sick-leave schedule, job descriptions and improved pensions.

A leaflet distributed at the New York

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The city administration attempted to fire King after he protested the conversion of some water-department trucks to supply trucks and the transfer of jurisdiction in the driving jobs involved from predominantly black Local 100 to a Teamsters local. The jurisdictional dispute between the unions was quickly settled, but "friend-of-labor" Stokes took the conflict as an occasion to open a union-busting drive on the water workers.

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Besides bargaining in bad faith and invoking the "antiriot" law, the city government illegally withheld the union's dues-checkoff money — amounting to some $8,000. It also hired scabs to do some of the work usually handled by the union members, and the scabs received $6 an hour for doing work union men were paid $3.50 an hour for.

Syd Stapleton, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, offered full support to the Local 100 strikers. At an Aug. 27 press conference on the steps of City Hall, with AFSCME pickets in the background, Stapleton urged "all Clevelanders to support the right of city employees to strike to defend their union and their bargaining rights."

"The suspension of Clarence King," Stapleton continued, "and the high-handed attitude of the city in dealing with its employees threatens the right of employees to have a union and to strike in their own defense. I condemn the arrest of Clarence King, Nick Jablenski, and Anthony Staltari on the same type of patently phony riot charges that have been used against the black community."

Stapleton stressed the need for the union movement to have a political arm to defend the interests of the workers instead of relying on capitalist politicians like Stokes. "Labor needs candidates that represent **labor**," he said, "and not the businesses and banks downtown. We urge the AFL-CIO to initiate the formation of a labor party that could offer an alternative to the two parties of war, racism and union busting."

Ex-Pvt. Joe Cole will be heard at New York forum

NEW YORK — New Yorkers will have the opportunity to hear one of the men who made the Army brass at Ft. Jackson regret they ever started up with GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

Ex-Pvt. Joe Cole, the Georgia Young Socialist who was one of the initial organizers of GIs United, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway, on Friday evening, Sept. 12, at 8:30 p.m. He will discuss the victorious battle of GIs United against the Army's attempt to victimize them, as well as the continuing fight of GIs for their right to oppose the war.

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In an attempt to counteract the Yablonski charge, Boyle warned the mine owners on August 20, that they face a "confrontation" with an "aroused work force" unless hazardous mining conditions are removed.

Boyle's sudden concern for the health and safety of his membership can only be another election campaign gimmick. Last year when one of Consolidated Coal Company's mines at Farmingdale, W. Va., exploded and burned, and then was sealed to entomb 78 miners, Boyle was loud in his praise of Consolidated's "safety" record. He personally went into the disaster area to convince families of the entrapped miners that they were dead and the mine had to be sealed off.

Yablonski, who is challenging Boyle for the union presidency, has long been a part of the bureaucratic apparatus at the top of the UMW. As I.W. Abel did in his successful challenge of David MacDonald in the steel union a few years ago, Yablonski's campaign is characterized mainly by the barbs hurled at Boyle, rather than any clear presentation of a counter program really addressed to the miners' needs.

* * *

What one union official with whom I talked called a "crazy mixed up situation" is indeed a good description of a three-month old strike against the Continental

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Safeway Bus Company, a subsidiary of Trailways, Inc.

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The men and women on strike were not out for higher wages. They are fighting on such issues as the right to holiday pay, the right to a regular sick-leave schedule, job descriptions and improved pensions.

A leaflet distributed at the New York Port Authority Bus Terminal says further:

"There are 6,000 violations of ICC regulations against Trailways. They are all for one thing — forcing their drivers to work more than 70 hours a week — sometimes up to 105 hours. This poses a danger to the driver, to you his passengers, and to the general public. . ."

One of the Amalgamated representatives to whom I talked said that the only concession the company had granted in its proposed contract was an increase in the company pension from $80 to $90 a month and a separation of that pension from social-security pensions.

Latest news, by telephone, is that the Amalgamated is back in negotiations and the drivers will not cross the picket line — the bus will be driven out by a supervisor and then turned over to the driver outside.

When I asked the person to whom I was talking, "Isn't that crossing your line?" he hesitated a moment and then said, "In a sort of a way I guess it is at that." And his voice reflected his confusion.

Once upon a time not crossing a picket line was not crossing a picket line. Not maneuvering around it.

— Marvel Scholl

Third world liberation notes

A new publication: The Warpath Indian

Self-determination for the American Indians is the theme of a new publication in California called **The Warpath Indian. Warpath** is published in the Bay Area by a group known as the United Native Americans. The newspaper is described by its editors as a UNA liberation news service and an international Indian newspaper.

A front-page article entitled "Indian Rebirth" describes the cultural strangulation and attempts at physical liquidation used by white America against the descendants of the once proud and prosperous Indian civilizations that flourished in this country. The article attacks the bickering and infighting among Indian groups over crumbs swept off the table by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The beginning of a solution to these problems is seen in a rebirth, or reawakening, of the Indian nations. It is this spiritual and cultural awakening, the ending of self-hatred, that will be a necessary component of the fight for political and economic justice.

Another **Warpath** article describes the testimony of Lehman Brightman, president of the UNA, before a Senate subcommittee on the Interior. In his testimony, Brightman blasts the Secretary of the Interior, Walter Hickel, charging that Hickel is attempting to remove Indian nations resulting in utter chaos, forcing the terminated tribes deeper into destitution. . .

"Mr. Hickel is against Eskimos making a decent living. He proved this in 1967 by personally killing a fishing contract between the Eskimos and the Japanese. This contract would have raised the yearly income of the Eskimo fishermen from $500 to $2,000. After this malicious, unwarranted act, most of the natives were forced to apply for federal and state aid.

"But at the same time Mr. Hickel thought it was against the law for Eskimos to sell their fish to the Japanese, his natural gas company was selling liquid gas to the Japanese.

"Mr. Hickel has also declared war on the Paiute Indians in Nevada. He wants to reduce 'Pyramid Lake,' which belongs to the Paiutes, by 152 feet in depth. Most authorities agree this would reduce the lake to a worthless mud flat, killing the fish and pelican reserve on the lake.

"Since a large portion of the Paiutes' income is derived from recreational activity on their lake, it would destroy their main source of livelihood. . .

"We feel Mr. Hickel has violated his oath of office and the people he swore to protect. We feel he is morally irresponsible and has exhibited forms of racism, bigotry and discrimination against Native Americans, and the American people.

Photo by John Gray

STRUGGLE FOR LAND. Washington State Indians protest Interior Secretary Walter Hickel's dam-building schemes that drive Indians from land, at San Clemente, Calif., Summer White House antiwar action Aug. 17.

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Brightman charges that no consideration is taken of the fact that the whole livelihood of many Indians is tied to the land. He says the reason the Indian lands have been selected for construction sites rather than that of the white ranchers is because the Indians have no political representatives in Washington, D. C. Brightman concludes by drawing upon some past history of the outright theft of Indian lands.

Another article describes the struggle for Indian studies at California universities. One of the members of UNA has drawn up a proposal for the establishment of a College of American Indian Studies at one of the U of C campuses. At the U of C campus in Berkeley, the UNA student chapter developed six Indian studies courses that were offered last spring. They want a Department of Indian Studies for this fall.

One of the major campaigns of the UNA is the circulation of a petition demanding the removal of Hickel as Secretary of the Interior. These are some of the reasons stated on the petition as to why Hickel should be removed:

"Mr. Hickel says the government has been too protective of Native Americans, and it's time the government cut the 'cord.'

"Mr. Hickel evidently means 'termination.' This is one of the government policies of destroying reservations, which was tried in 1953 under the Eisenhower administration, and was a total failure, resulting in the Indians losing 2/3 of their land.

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"We feel Mr. Hickel has violated his oath of office and the people he swore to protect. We feel he is morally irresponsible and has exhibited forms of racism, bigotry and discrimination against Native Americans, and the American people.

"For this, we are asking for his removal from office and consider him a 'menace' to Native Americans, conservation, the well-being of the country, and the population in general. If you feel Mr. Hickel should be removed from office, we encourage you to sign this petition."

If you want more information on the UNA petition and **Warpath**, write to: United Native Americans, Inc., P. O. Box 26149, San Francisco, Calif. 94126.

Subscription to **Warpath** is $1 per year for persons of Indian descent who join the UNA, and $5 and up for other persons.

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An article in the Aug. 24 **Houston Chronicle** shows how the capitalist farmers are unwittingly grappling with one of the methods outlined in **Das Kapital** in terms of the expansion of surplus value (profits).

The method that Marx described is that of creating a reserve army of labor with which to keep down wages by way of savage competition for jobs.

The setting for this lesson in Marxist economics is the Rio Grande Valley in the Southern part of Texas. Crops are grown all year round here. The Valley is inhabited by about 400,000 Texans, 75 percent of whom are Chicanos earning less than $2,400 a year. Although wages may be $1.50 and $2.50 an hour, a lot of them fall around 95c an hour and below.

This situation is typical of that found in colonial and neocolonial countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; i.e., millions of peasants working as beasts of burden for corporations like United Fruit, W. R. Grace and the Chase Manhattan Bank. Because the people are so numerous, wages are cheapened well

Photo by John Gray

STRUGGLE FOR LAND. Washington State Indians protest Interior Secretary Walter Hickel's dam-building schemes that drive Indians from land, at San Clemente, Calif., Summer White House antiwar action Aug. 17.

lull takes place during July, August and September. What happened was that during the spring harvest, there was a move by the growers to delay part of the harvest in expectation that the price of grapefruit would go up. They waited too long, after the processing plants had already closed, leaving grapfruit to rot in the field.

So now, the growers want more workers provided for the winter harvest so as to drive down existing wages by heightening the competition for jobs. Thus, in this way, the growers would make up for their loss in the spring harvest. Of course, this means that the mass of Chicano and Mexican farm workers will bear the consequences for the growers' mistaken calculation, not the growers.

To add to these contradictions, the growers complain about the "lazy Mexican" and how he doesn't want to work, but just live off welfare. Well, about 14,533 families receive welfare in the area. The federal government lays out $11.5 million a year for this budget, which provides less than $800 per year per family. But the federal government, through the Agricultural and Stabilization and Conservation Service, pays out $22.2 million to the Valley growers to keep certain lands idle. This is almost twice as much as the welfare payments. And yet, the growers complain about "Big Government!"

—Derrick Morrison

The last will and testament of N.Y. Peace and Freedom

By Robert Langston

NEW YORK—A year ago, the Peace and Freedom Party movement was capturing the hearts, if not the minds, of many radicals across the country. The idea of a political grouping that could project a radical image and yet rally large numbers of people to its standard because it would be unencumbered with an all-too-sharply defined program and a lot of "ideological baggage" was immensely appealing to many.

In the Aug. 16, 1968, **Militant**, Tom Kerry commented on this concept: "The end result of the policy of seeking numbers at the expense of ideas and program will be to get neither clarity of ideas nor large numbers, but accelerated demoralization and disintegratiion." At the time, revolutionary socialists and others who shared this estimate were widely regarded as hopelessly sectarian.

The radical commitment on the other hand is to a total replacement of the existent capitalist system. One organization can not espouse two diametrically opposed points of view and achieve any long-term success."

The release concludes: "By summer 1969 Party membership was down to no more than 50 people in the entire city, finances were depleted, and the Party lacked credibility within the radical movement. Considering these factors, the decision was made consciously and deliberately to disband the organization.

WBAI, N.Y., to focus on chemical warfare

NEW YORK—A special one-hour program entitled, "Scientists Speak Out: Chem-

acres of land occupied by Indians are in various stages of erosion.

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This situation is typical of that found in colonial and neocolonial countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America; i.e., millions of peasants working as beasts of burden for corporations like United Fruit, W. R. Grace and the Chase Manhattan Bank. Because the people are so numerous, wages are cheapened well below the point of subsistence. Father may die, but his many sons and daughters will step in his place. In the Rio Grande Valley, the beasts of burden are the Chicano and Mexican farm workers.

Seventy percent of the land is in the hands of a few hundred farmers. It is these few hundred, who are organized into a capitalist farmer association, who play the role in the valley that United Fruit plays elsewhere.

A lot of these capitalist farmers grow citrus fruits, such as grapefruit. The citrus growers are attempting to vastly expand their huge reserve army of labor.

You see, the growing season for citrus fruits is nine months out of the year. A would go up. They waited too long, after the processing plants had already closed, leaving grapfruit to rot in the field.

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NEW YORK—A year ago, the Peace and Freedom Party movement was capturing the hearts, if not the minds, of many radicals across the country. The idea of a political grouping that could project a radical image and yet rally large numbers of people to its standard because it would be unencumbered with an all-too-sharply defined program and a lot of "ideological baggage" was immensely appealing to many.

In the Aug. 16, 1968, **Militant**, Tom Kerry commented on this concept: "The end result of the policy of seeking numbers at the expense of ideas and program will be to get neither clarity of ideas nor large numbers, but accelerated demoralization and disintegration." At the time, revolutionary socialists and others who shared this estimate were widely regarded as hopeless sectarians. Just one year later—on Aug. 13, 1969—the New York City Peace and Freedom Party passed a resolution disbanding itself. In an undated news release—presumably the party's final testament to the world—announcing the dissolution, some consequences of the "all-inclusive" approach were pointed out and some lessons drawn.

"The Party's fundamental flaw," the release states, "and eventual demise, was the failure to realize the depth and fundamental nature of political difference between radical and liberal. No matter how far left the liberal, or how drastic the reordering of priorities sought, the liberal commitment is still to the existent capitalist system. The radical commitment on the other hand is to a total replacement of the existent capitalist system. One organization can not espouse two diametrically opposed points of view and achieve any long-term success."

The release concludes: "By summer 1969 Party membership was down to no more than 50 people in the entire city, finances were depleted, and the Party lacked credibility within the radical movement. Considering these factors, the decision was made consciously and deliberately to disband the organization.

WBAI, N.Y., to focus on chemical warfare

NEW YORK—A special one-hour program entitled, "Scientists Speak Out: Chemical and Biological Warfare," will be broadcast here Friday, Sept. 12, at 9:30 p.m. on WBAI, 99.5 FM.

Panelists on the program will include Rep. Edward I. Koch, a congressional proponent of the regulation of chemical and biological weapons; Dr. Ivan Bennett, the U. S. representative to the UN Committee on Chemical and Biological Warfare; and Dr. Susan Zolla of the NYU School of Medicine and a member of the Scientists' Committee for Public Information.

The program will examine the nature of agents now being developed and produced, how such weapons are deployed, the effects of such weapons and military and political considerations.

Cuban militiawomen

The movement for women's liberation

Susan LaMont

By Susan LaMont

The following is a presentation to an Aug. 22 New York Militant Labor Forum meeting on women's liberation. Susan LaMont is a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the editorial board of the **Young Socialist** magazine.

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sures, the right to abortion, nurseries that care for children and so on, that women can be freed from these deadly tasks to which they have been chained for so long. Such reforms as these also tend to break down the basic nature of the family as a tiny **economic** institution which is forced to provide the economic and social needs which are in reality the responsibility of

fined subservient role to men. In pre-class society, or the period of primitive communism, the family as we know it today did not exist, and the role of women was quite different. Women occupied a central place in this society, not only because of their reproductive role, but because of the social and economic results of this role, which put them in a position of being

as during World War II, and shunted home again when the needs of the system and the ruling class change. Once home, millions of dollars are spent on elaborate propaganda to keep them there, supposedly happy as consumers of their husbands earnings. Women are systematically trained for this role in a thousand different ways. There is the image the mass media holds up as the "ideal" woman, the fantastically distorted education they receive, the opportunity to get only certain types of jobs.

What has to be done to get us out of this situation? The struggle in an organized sense is very new, with many of the groups still coming to grips with the questions which have been dealt with here tonight. Over the next few years, new groups will arise, new layers of women will be brought into struggle. The issues around which these new layers will organize will, as they already have, vary from place to place.

In Detroit women have been organizing against the laws which make the number of hours a woman can work lower than those of men. In New York, black and Puerto Rican women were in the forefront of the fight against the racist teachers' strike last fall. At UCLA, the Union for Women's International Liberation is fighting against the blatant discrimination

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* * *

Since its earliest days, the revolutionary movement has been concerned with the question of woman's liberation and has understood the necessity of waging a fight for freedom, not only in the legal sense — that is, through struggles for the right to vote, get a divorce, own property, etc. — but in the social and economic sense as well.

The **Communist Manifesto** includes a section denouncing the family system and "the status of women as mere instruments of production." The Bolsheviks were also staunch defenders of the rights of women.

Another example is Cuba. The situation of women in Cuba, as throughout Latin America, was even worse than in the advanced industrial countries, where women had at least won some democratic rights. Added to the general economic, political and social exploitation were the degrading attitudes maintained and reinforced by the Catholic hierarchy.

Ten years ago, much of this began to change in Cuba, with the overthrow of U. S.-dominated capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy. With the new society, came a totally new attitude toward women.

Today, there are nurseries throughout Cuba where women can bring their children, the right to abortion, nurseries that care for children and so on, that women can be freed from these deadly tasks to which they have been chained for so long. Such reforms as these also tend to break down the basic nature of the family as a tiny **economic** institution which is forced to provide the economic and social needs which are in reality the responsibility of society as a whole to provide.

For women, the myth about the "happy home" is so much baloney. But to look at the ads, the magazines, the TV, and the movies, of course, you would never get this. All American women are happily married and "fulfilled." But the reality is that millions of men and women are forced to live together purely on the grounds of social coercion and economic pressure. The difficulties and cost of getting a divorce and of providing economically for the family once a divorce is gotten, provides very strong pressure for people to stay together. The fear of loneliness in an alienated society becomes an additional pressure.

The central point is that the family is an economic institution which benefits the capitalists by taking the responsibility for the care and raising of children out of the hands of society and putting it into the hands of individual fathers and mothers. In this way, the family system helps to maintain the existing class structure and divisions — rich children get the best education, food, etc., while poor children lose out. Because each family is required to fend for itself in the competitive world of capitalism, the family as it exists today not only fined subservient role to men. In pre-class society, or the period of primitive communism, the family as we know it today did not exist, and the role of women was quite different. Women occupied a central place in this society, not only because of their reproductive role, but because of the social and economic results of this role, which put them in a position of being the primary providers of food, and the cultural and social leaders as well.

As such, it was women who were responsible for the discovery of argiculture and the domestication of animals, a break-through which represented one of the giant steps forward in the history of mankind. It was this growth of agriculture which provided surpluses, the material basis for the development of class society, that is, the emergence of the state, private property and a ruling class. Along with the transition from primitive communism to the beginnings of class society based on private property relations came the change from the system of matriarchy to the patriarchal system necessary to determine who inherits property when the owner dies.

There isn't time to go into the history of women from that point until today. It is important, however, to remember that women once played a central role in society as equals. The subjugation of women, which is so acute under capitalism, will disappear when the class society that produced it is replaced.

There are numerous statistics available from different sources to illustrate the extent to which systematic discrimination against women exists in this country. While again when the needs of the system and the ruling class change. Once home, millions of dollars are spent on elaborate propaganda to keep them there, supposedly happy as consumers of their husbands earnings. Women are systematically trained for this role in a thousand different ways. There is the image the mass media holds up as the "ideal" woman, the fantastically distorted education they receive, the opportunity to get only certain types of jobs.

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And there are many more examples. Education, not only self-education of women, but education of the radical movement and the population as a whole on this question, is very important, and a prerequisite to intelligent action.

The fight for free and legal abortions, free birth-control information and devices, day-care centers, an end to discrimination in all areas of work, and an end to the distorted education designed to keep women in the home will be an important part of the struggle.

But the struggles for these basic reforms must be tied in with the over-all revolutionary struggle for socialism. The oppression of women is a fundamental part of class society. As long as capitalism exists, neither women nor men will be really free.

On an international scale it is clear that more and more women have come to understand where the basic source of their oppression lies. The Arab women com-

understood the necessity of waging a fight for freedom, not only in the legal sense — that is, through struggles for the right to vote, get a divorce, own property, etc. — but in the social and economic sense as well.

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Today, there are nurseries throughout Cuba where women can bring their children from the time they are 45 days old. These nurseries provide clothing, food, medical care, and education for the children. In schools and factories there are eating facilities which also alleviate the domestic responsibilities traditionally assigned to women. All women have access to birth-control information and devices and, to a lesser extent, to abortions.

One of the most basic measures taken by Cuba concerns preferential hiring of women. If there is a job open which both women and men can do, the woman gets it. Consequently, women are being integrated into every aspect of Cuban life — from heading up hospitals and schools to running farms and participating in the Army and militia. There is still a lot of work to be done on the question of personal attitudes, but the groundwork is being laid to eliminate even this problem.

Traditional role

One of the most fundamental aspects of the struggle for women's liberation is the problem of how to free women from their traditional role as wife and mother and slave to the home, and unleash the tremendous potential for creative and productive work. It is only by insuring that women have access to birth-control means at the ads, the magazines, the TV, and the movies, of course, you would never get this. All American women are happily married and "fulfilled." But the reality is that millions of men and women are forced to live together purely on the grounds of social coercion and economic pressure. The difficulties and cost of getting a divorce and of providing economically for the family once a divorce is gotten, provides very strong pressure for people to stay together. The fear of loneliness in an alienated society becomes an additional pressure.

The central point is that the family is an economic institution which benefits the capitalists by taking the responsibility for the care and raising of children out of the hands of society and putting it into the hands of individual fathers and mothers. In this way, the family system helps to maintain the existing class structure and divisions — rich children get the best education, food, etc., while poor children lose out. Because each family is required to fend for itself in the competitive world of capitalism, the family as it exists today not only pits rich against poor, but working-class men and women against one another in a frantic struggle to provide enough food, clothing, housing and education for **their** family and **their** children.

The disastrous effects of this stifling social institution show up in different ways, not the least of which is that it drives a lot of people crazy. The "battered children" syndrome is one example where the pressures of family life simply get to be too much. The most tragic side of this problem is that it is often impossible to remove children from these situations, since children are, in effect, the "property" of their parents, and society has no way of providing for their care and education outside the family.

Now the question arises, "What has this to do with the oppression of women? Isn't it in a woman's "nature" to be mother and homemaker?"

In pre-class society

The fact is that history shows that women have not always been in this subordinate role. It has only been since the advent of class society, some 8,000 to 10,000 years ago, that women have been socially, politically, and economically oppressed, without rights, forced to play a predesible for the discovery of argiculture and the domestication of animals, a break-through which represented one of the giant steps forward in the history of mankind. It was this growth of agriculture which provided surpluses, the material basis for the development of class society, that is, the emergence of the state, private property and a ruling class. Along with the transition from primitive communism to the beginnings of class society based on private property relations came the change from the system of matriarchy to the patriarchal system necessary to determine who inherits property when the owner dies.

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There are numerous statistics available from different sources to illustrate the extent to which systematic discrimination against women exists in this country. While women are 51 percent of the population, they are only 35 percent of the work force, and those jobs which they have access to are the most menial and underpaid. Even women who manage to get through college do not fare very well. For example, women engineers with Ph. D.s earn less than men with B. A.s. Women who are part of oppressed national minorities, victims of both racial and sex discrimination, suffer even greater oppression.

Women are maintained as a vast potential labor force, to be used when needed, symbols of women's oppression, such as beauty contests, where women are put on display as sexual objects.

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On an international scale it is clear that more and more women have come to understand where the basic source of their oppression lies. The Arab women commandos, the women Vietnamese freedom fighters, and the women who took to the barricades in France last year are all examples which we in the U. S. can look to.

The revolutionary movement in this country is going to have to deal the final blows to capitalist society and go about the business of constructing a socialist society in which everyone is free to develop his or her potential. In this revolutionary struggle, women are not only important, they are necessary.

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A Marxist Approach

by Evelyn Reed

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Reading for revolutionaries

A world to win

Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. (With an introduction by Leon Trotsky.) Merit. 95 cents.

The **Communist Manifesto**, as this work is popularly called, was written in 1847, just before a series of revolutions swept over western Europe. Its authors, now recognized as the founders of scientific socialism, took part in these events in Germany where the party they founded was first formed. Later, it spread to many other countries.

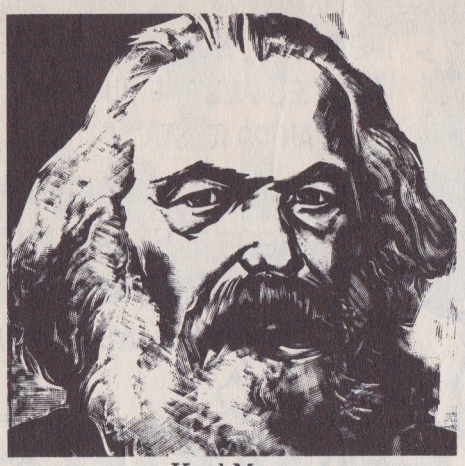
The **Manifesto** gives a broad historical review of class struggles beginning with ancient society and coming up to their times. It describes particularly the roles played by various classes in the struggles of the past. It analyses the role of the new ruling class, the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class.

The other classes in capitalist society, the middle class and the proletarians, are also described fully and their roles in the political struggle assessed.

Relations between the Communists and the workers are described: "They (the Communists) have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole," states the **Manifesto**. The aims of the Communists are described as the overthrow of bourgeois supremacy and the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The **Manifesto** discusses the various brands of socialism which the new movement found itself competing against. Strange as it may seem, some of these are to be found at the present time garbed in new attire but, despite the modern raiment undoubtedly linear descendents of outworn and uselss ideas.

The document concludes with the ringing words that all revolutionists have echoed through the years: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"



Karl Marx

The **Communist Manifesto** is a historical document and should be studied as such. The tactics proposed in it are, of course, not necessarily applicable for the present day. But at the same time, the principles described hold good for the present.

The **Manifesto** was the first systematized expression of ideas and proposals of what started as a small group and over the years and decades grew into a powerful international movement. This could not have happened if the basic ideas of the **Manifesto** had been wrong.

Revolutionaries have continued to be inspired by the contents of this document. The Russians who led the October Revolution in 1917 were brought up on its fundamental ideas.

Present day revolutionaries can study the **Communist Manifesto** with considerable profit, not only to learn how the founders of scientific socialism looked at

The works reviewed in this

The Great Society

Sounds reasonable — With the global spread of the tube, the U. S. Information Agency is shifting the emphasis of its overseas brainwashing operation from movies to TV. A prime market for such material, a spokesman said, is South Vietnam. "After all," he opined, "we gave them the TV station. I suppose we can expect a fair amount of access to its air time."

They never heard of him either — The FBI emphatically denied Joe Namath's magazine assertion that they had tailed him during his January trip to the Super Bowl in Miami.

Plus depreciation? — According to a federal court ruling, a business executive may deduct his wife's travel expenses from his tax returns even if she doesn't perform any duties of a business nature. The ruling held that the wife's presence can promote the company's image "or otherwise enhance its interests."

How bounteous can you get? — Mrs. Jackie Onassis, who flew her New York butcher to Greece to assure that the wedding meat was cut right, donated $200 to support the striking Charleston, S. C. hospital workers.

A helping hand — The 40 percent of Lee County, Miss., families living below the poverty level will undoubtedly be pleased by the Dept. of Agriculture's Farmers Home Administration decision to underwrite a $265,000 loan to build a golf course for the all-white Natchez Trace Golf Club, Inc.

The church industry — We were puzzled to learn that representatives of 40 U. S. Catholic dioceses held a three-day meeting to discuss, as the **New York Times** put it, "applying modern corporate techniques to church management problems." Considering that the church is probably the

Drowns his troubles? — The May 1969 issue of **Marie Clair**, a French woman's magazine, queried notables about what they do when they get depressed. Senator Edward Kennedy reportedly responded, "I go swimming."

We had a hunch — Most psychologists responding to a University of Chicago poll agreed they had never run into a case of someone committing rape as a result of reading pornographic literature. A solid 86 percent also agreed with the view that hyped-up antiponography crusaders are often motivated by sexual hangups.

How else can they target a bomb? — Supporting a House action to ban demonstrations at the Pentagon, Rep. Alexander Pirnie (R-N. Y.) declared Pentagon officials "should be permitted to perform their tasks in an atmosphere free of violence."

On the integration front — In a precedent-shattering move, a black woman has been chosen to serve as a judge at this year's Miss America contest. She'll help crown one of the 50 competing white girls.

Nothing sacred — The campus rebellion has reached Eaton, Britain's 529-year-old boys' school. An underground Action Union is pressing for school reform. Some of the traditions are gone already. Binding black jackets and celluloid collars have been eliminated, along with compulsory Latin, compulsory Sunday chapel and pre-breakfast classes. The headmaster has resigned because he couldn't keep up with the dizzying pace of change.

Strategists at work — One Defense Department-sponsored study came up with the idea of building a moat around Saigon.

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Present day revolutionaries can study the **Communist Manifesto** with considerable profit, not only to learn how the founders of scientific socialism looked at the situation 120 years ago, but also, more importantly, to learn their method and how they looked upon the various classes in society and the struggles among them.

— Milton Alvin

The works reviewed in this column are generally available from Merit Publishers. For a free catalog write to Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

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Productive venture — We don't know if they're already done so, but we trust Vatican investment specialists are considering the pill field. Since the Pope said no last year, sales of the pill have doubled in Italy.

Pope Paul

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The welfare state — Toronto police withdrew vagrancy charges against a man found living in a manhole after the Salvation Army agreed to take him in.

With such friends . . . — The Rev. Harvey Cox, a Harvard theologian, takes a dim view of Nixon's weekly White House church services. "Frankly," the reverend said, "we have enough problems persuading young people to become interested in religion without having Nixon support it."

— Harry Ring

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With such friends . . . — The Rev. Harvey Cox, a Harvard theologian, takes a dim view of Nixon's weekly White House church services. "Frankly," the reverend said, "we have enough problems persuading young people to become interested in religion without having Nixon support it."

— **Harry Ring**

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THE MILITANT

Friday, Sept. 12, 1969

Atlanta socialist scores round in filing-fee fight

ATLANTA, Sept. 2 — An important partial victory has been scored in the Socialist Workers Party election campaign here. On Aug. 24, a three-judge panel ordered the Atlanta Board of Aldermen to lower the qualifying fees for the Oct. 7 city elections from $5,000 to $1,000.

The court order was the result of a suit originally filed by Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for mayor, and later joined by Ethel Mae Matthews and Julie Shields. They contended that the $5,000 qualifying fee was in violation of the 14th Amendment and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The partially favorable ruling was based on a technicality that the law setting the $5,000 fee for the 1969 elections had not been approved by the U. S. Attorney General as specified by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and was therefore in violation of the law.

Amidst news reports that the entire elections might be postponed, the Board of Aldermen frantically met on the following day, lowering the fees for mayor to $1,000 and substantially reducing them for all the other offices.

Linda Jenness, who was present at the Aldermanic meeting, told reporters afterwards that, "The new fees are completely unreasonable. This is a joke. When we argue for minimal fees we mean just that. I will go to the U. S. Supreme Court if necessary to have the fees eliminated or lowered to a reasonable figure."

Linda Jenness' partial victory in her struggle against the exorbitant qualifying fees was widely publicized on local radio and television news broadcasts and was front-page news in both the **Atlanta Journal** and the **Atlanta Constitution** three days

The Atlanta Journal
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Since 1883
Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor

EDITORIALS 22-A AUGUST 27, 1969

She's Unforgettable

WHATEVER THE outcome of the 1969 mayor's race in Atlanta, Mrs. Linda Jenness has made an unforgettable impression.

The Socialist candidate for mayor — and the only woman in the race—demonstrated what we should have known all along, that the female of the species can wage deadly battle against anything she considers unjust.

All the male candidates for mayor accepted without so much as a murmur the $5,000 qualification fee assessed by the city. In fact, three of them raced to pay it on the day qualifications opened.

It remained for the lone woman and a newcomer—so new that there is a question whether she meets the residential requirements to be mayor—to challenge the city on the size of the qualification fees.

Mrs. Jenness took her challenge to federal court and won.

The Board of Aldermen has scaled down the qualification fee for mayor from $5,000 to $1,000 and scaled down the other fees as well.

Although Mrs. Jenness has said this is not enough and that she will continue to give battle in the courts, she has already made her mark on the 1969 race.

The 29 candidates who must now repeat the qualification process will not soon forget her feisty stand, nor will the Board of Aldermen, nor, presumably, will a number of voters.

"A SLOW SORT OF COUNTRY!" SAID THE QUEEN. "NOW, HERE, YOU SEE, IT TAKES ALL THE RUNNING YOU CAN DO TO STAY IN THE SAME PLACE. IF YOU WANT TO GET SOMEWHERE ELSE, YOU MUST RUN AT LEAST TWICE AS FAST AS THAT!"
STATE GOVERNMENT

'ALICE IN MADDOX COUNTRY'

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An issue that is becoming more prominent in Atlanta is a recent five-cent hike in bus fares by the Atlanta Transit System. A demonstration of about 60 was held at the State Public Services Commission office to protest these fares. Linda Jenness was among the demonstrators and her supporters distributed copies of her statement calling for a publicly controlled bus system and the abolition of fares. Mrs. Jenness has also been protesting the recent arrest of four black youths between the ages of 10 and 16 who were charged with "assaulting an officer" and "resisting arrest" when they refused to leave a public swimming pool. One of the youths was slugged by a cop and they were all taken to the police station. No attempt was made to notify the parents. When the parents finally found them, they had to pay $200 bond per child in order to release them. Mrs. Jenness learned about the incident when the father of a couple of the children called the Socialist Workers Party seeking legal assistance.

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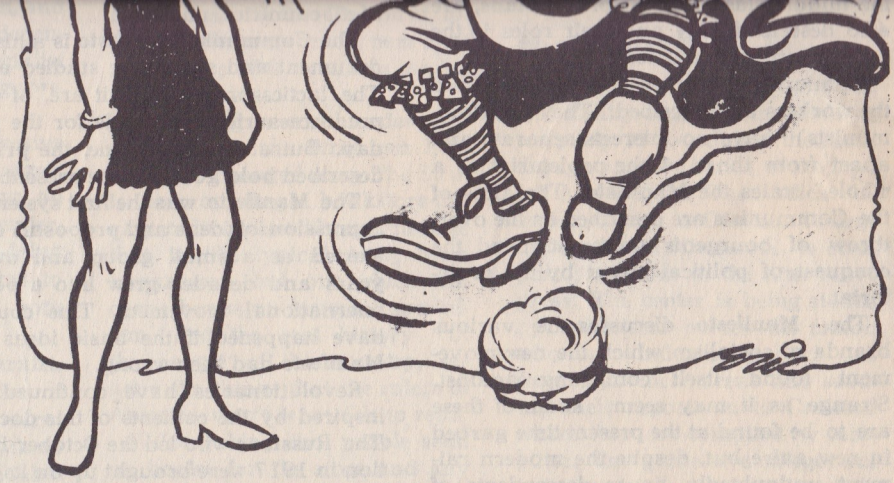

'ALICE IN MADDOX COUNTRY'

Atlanta socialists making impact

By Andy Rose

ATLANTA—More than 350 Atlantans heard Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Linda Jenness at an outdoor rally complete with rock bands here Aug. 24. The city's rulers are responding to the socialist campaign's increasing success in reaching the people of Atlanta with ever more frantic efforts to keep Linda Jenness off the ballot.

One of the other mayoral contenders leaked a story to the press that the socialist candidate had not been an Atlanta resident long enough to serve as mayor. City officials admit that the laws may be contradictory and decline to confirm or deny Linda Jenness' eligibility.

"I can see no reason why we should not be on the ballot," the socialist candidate commented. "Anyone who is eligible to vote in elections should be eligible to run in elections. If the city laws do not say that—and no one has conclusively demonstrated yet just what the laws **do** say—then we are prepared to take the city into court over the question, just as we have taken them into court over the outrageous qualifying fee."

Linda Jenness has been aggressively presenting the socialist program before street rallies, high school meetings, businessmen's groups, community organizations and on radio and television.

On the morning of Aug. 12, she spoke on the Cuban revolution to about 70 students at Grady High School and showed slides of her recent trip to Cuba.

That afternoon, she confronted the other mayoral candidates at the Atlanta Press Club before an audience of area bigwigs. The discussion centered on the "law and order" issue, and television coverage included the socialist candidate's comments: "When the landlords violate the law by charging exorbitant rents for substandard housing, where are the stand bearers of 'law and order'? When young people are illegally arrested for leafleting, selling newspapers, and often for no reason at all, where are the standard-bearers of 'law and order'? When people try to change the status quo, these politicians mean that their type of 'law and order' will be used against them. I want no part of that type of law and order."

On Aug. 14, she confronted the other candidates again before a meeting of about 300 at the Kirkwood Community Center. The meeting had been called to protest the lack of adequate police protection in the overwhelmingly black area and to demand that police Chief Herbert Jenkins be fired.

The SWP candidate sharply posed the difference between having **more** police and having community control of the police in the black community:

"The black community would have plenty of police in it if there was a struggle going on here, like in 1966, or like in Watts or Newark. **Then** there are plenty of police brought into the black community—brought in to put the community down.

"The only way that police are going to be responsive to this community and be truly interested in protecting it, is if the police are residents selected by this community and controlled by it."

The socialist campaign has compelled liberal black candidate Horace Tate to assume a more radical posture. At a meeting sponsored by the Urban Corps on

Chicano parley sets Sept. 16 action

By Orrin Brown and Vern Westerberg

DENVER—The Chicano Unity Conference, hosted by the Crusade for Justice, was held here Aug. 29-31. The conference was a follow-up on the historic Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held here March 27-31.

Sept. 16, Gonzales pointed out, has been traditionally celebrated in Mexico as independence day, "and will go down in history as Chicano liberation day in this country."

Total attendance at the conference was

stressed that the Chicanos want to make their art an expression of their people to unify the people.

A major emphasis of the conference was on the need for adult organization: "Our young people are learning faster than we are," Gonzales said. "They are organizing

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The socialist campaign has compelled liberal black candidate Horace Tate to assume a more radical posture. At a meeting sponsored by the Urban Corps on Aug. 15, Tate said he "would have to ditto" Linda Jenness' tax program: no sales or gasoline taxes and no taxes on incomes less than $7,500; increased taxes on large corporations; and a 100 percent tax on war profits and on incomes over $25,000.

And at a meeting on Aug. 18 of the Atlanta Advertising Club, Tate said he "would have to agree" with the socialist candidate on community control, although earlier in the campaign he had opposed community control of the police in the black community.

The socialist campaign has also been effective in forcing the capitalist candidates to take a stand on the Vietnam war. Of the four other mayoral candidates, one said the war was irrelevant to Atlanta's problems, while three said they opposed the war but didn't think the mayor could do anything about it.

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The major purpose of the gathering was to unite the various elements of the Chicano community and its allies throughout the Southwest towards a massive school walkout Sept. 16. The March conference was the first nationwide gathering of Chicano youth; Sept. 16 will be its counterpart in action.

The walkout is to be a response to the West High blowout in Denver last March. Referring to the action, Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, head of the Crusade for Justice, said: "The West High blowout was a spontaneous, unorganized action taken by our youth. Sept. 16 will be its organized counterpart, comprising all elements of the Chicano community and those who support it. We will walk together to let this system know that we are not letting it oppress us any longer."

Sept. 16, Gonzales pointed out, has been traditionally celebrated in Mexico as independence day, "and will go down in history as Chicano liberation day in this country."

Total attendance at the conference was estimated to be between 600 and 800 people, including students, campesinos, clergymen, and members of various service agencies as well as 60 teachers. Representatives of groups in other areas of the Southwest, particularly Texas and California, were present.

On the first day of the conference the major areas of concentration in the Crusade's program for unity were discussed. First was a talk on nationalism in which the importance of unity for an oppressed people was stressed, the Chicano people's need for relevance in education was emphasized.

The Crusade sponsors programs in Spanish, history, Chicano art, etc. They have their own press, which combats the distortions of the capitalist media. There is an art gallery at the Crusade where Chicano art is displayed. One of the panels stressed that the Chicanos want to make their art an expression of their people to unify the people.

A major emphasis of the conference was on the need for adult organization: "Our young people are learning faster than we are," Gonzales said. "They are organizing and moving with or without our help. But this is the struggle of every Chicano, and we cannot let our children struggle alone; we cannot let our children commit suicide. It is now up to us to organize and to move with them."

Workshops composed of the major occupational groupings were held to discuss how each group could participate in the action. Participants plan to return to their jobs, communities and schools to organize others. Teachers, for example, plan to organize boycotts in some cases, and in others to walk out with their students.

"Our aim is to bring control of the Chicano community throughout this country into the hands of the Chicano people," Gonzales said. "This includes every Indian, every Puerto Rican, every last man within our common heritage. But to walk a thousand miles, we must make the first step. Sept. 16 is going to be that first step.